A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages

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A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages

Edited by

Greg Peters
C. Colt Anderson



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Contents

List of Illustrations VII
List of Abbreviations VIII
List of Contributors IX

1 **Introduction** 1
Greg Peters

2 **Apostolic Successors: Priests and Priesthood, Bishops, and Episcopacy in Medieval Western Europe** 4
Robert N. Swanson

3 **Ordinatio and the Priesthood in the Early Middle Ages and Its Visual Depiction** 43
Roger E. Reynolds

4 **Priesthood in the Byzantine Empire** 70
Augustine Casiday

5 **Married Clergy in Eastern and Western Christianity** 96
David G. Hunter

6 **The Imago Christi in the Bishop, Priest, and Clergy** 140
Roger E. Reynolds

7 **Priests and the Eucharist in the Middle Ages** 188
John F. Romano

8 **The Priesthood and the Sacrament of Marriage** 217
Charles J. Reid, Jr.

9 **Teaching Confession in Thirteenth-Century England: Priests and Laity** 252
Andrew Reeves

10 **Reforming Priests and the Diverse Rhetorics of Ordination and Office from 1123–1418** 281
C. Colt Anderson

11 **The Radical Renewal of Pastoral Care in the Italian Communes, 1150–1250: Prelates, Secular Clergy, and the Mendicant Orders** 306
Michael F. Cusato, O.F.M.

12 **From Function to Ontology: The Shifting Diaconate of the Middle Ages** 346
William T. Ditewig

Ancient Sources Index 373
Scripture Index 378
Modern Author Index 380
Subject Index 381

List of Illustrations

3.1–3.2 *Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary*; Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 19 (19bis), *c.* 845 57–58
3.3 *Drogo Sacramentary*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Lat. 9428, *c.* 850 59
3.4 Sacramentary of Warmund; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 86, *c.* 1000 60
3.5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale grec. 510, 9th c 61
3.6–3.17 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B 1 13), *c.* 970 62–66

List of Abbreviations

CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
NPNF	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*
PG	J.-P. Migne (ed.) *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris: 1857–1866)
PL	J.-P. Migne (ed.) *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: 1844–1864)
Tanner	Norman P. Tanner (ed.) *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. Washington, DC: 1990.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Greg Peters

Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages is, in many ways, a volume that looks at contemporary issues by way of the medieval sources that serve as the origin of these questions. Throughout the past two thousand years discussions and debates have existed about the nature of holy orders in the Christian church, especially in reference to the priesthood. That there would be priests in the Christian church seems to be taken for granted as early as the first century (see Titus 1:5), but what came to be an oft-discussed aspect of Christian priesthood (and continues to be discussed) was whether or not it was an office of function or one of ontology. That is, is one a priest because of what he (*sic*) does or because of what God does to him? Over the centuries this question has been answered in different ways by different thinkers and practitioners, and this diversity will be seen in the pages below. What is clear is that during the Middle Ages the Christian priesthood was disaggregated from the full *cursus honorum* and though this was, in fact, an artificial extraction it set the priesthood over against the other orders, giving it an importance and prestige that only grew with time.

It may not be too much to say that there is today a crisis within the Christian priesthood that oftentimes manifests itself in the media around the ongoing sexual abuse scandals and, as of today at least, whether or not the Roman Catholic papacy has a right to serve as the moral head of Western Christendom or even if he has the right to be the political head of a sovereign city-state. Much more, however, than these contemporary concerns is the ongoing concern of Christian theology vis-à-vis the nature of the priesthood. For a number of Roman Catholic theologians the priesthood is an ontological category, a man's ordination results in his very ontology being altered so that he stands in *persona Christi* as an *alter Christus*. This theology of ordination and priesthood seems to dominate in Eastern Orthodoxy and at least among the Anglo-Catholic wing of the worldwide Anglican Communion. Over against this understanding, however, is the more Protestant understanding of priesthood (i.e., pastoral ministry) as a function, not an ontology. Though these debates will likely continue into the foreseeable future and are highly dependent on unique and nuanced theological-philosophical commitments, the question remains an interesting one: what is the nature of Christian priesthood?

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In this volume a group of scholars with expertise in areas related to Christian priesthood address the aforementioned question historically. The purpose of this volume is to show that priesthood, at least in the Middle Ages, was seen in both ontological and functional terms. Thus, this volume intentionally adds to the contemporary discussion of the nature of the Christian priesthood by offering a historical study of the very issues under consideration. It should be of value to medievalists due to the ubiquity of priests (and deacons) in medieval history, theology, and literature. No one who studies the Middle Ages can avoid priests and deacons, for they were the pastors, preachers, educators, sinners, and saints of the European Middle Ages. Because of this priestly ubiquity the volume is meant for both the specialist and the non-specialist. It serves as both an introduction to Christian priesthood generally in the Middle Ages while also offering unique contributions to this field of study (see, for example, Augustine Casiday on priesthood in the Byzantine Empire), employing an array of methodologies.

Due to the vast geographical and historical ground covered in this volume, no one methodology would suffice, therefore a range of methodologies have been adopted so as to place the Christian priesthood not just under one microscope but under a host of different microscopes, yielding a rich texture of threads and patterns. For example, David G. Hunter examines the emergence of canonical restrictions on the marriages of the clergy as they developed between the 2nd and the 12th centuries in the Eastern and Western Churches. He does this by paying special attention to the disciplines of permanent sexual continence and complete celibacy though he is also interested in other matters, such as the prohibition of ordaining a man who has married twice and the requirement that a cleric's wife be a virgin when they marry. Such concerns are in part rooted in the medieval concern with a priest's purity vis-à-vis the validity of the Eucharistic sacrifice. John F. Romano discovers that the dominant trend in scholarship on medieval liturgy is to respect the diversity of rites in medieval Europe and to avoid broad generalization across time and space. Romano believes that it is not enough to focus only on theological reflections, but instead to use them in conjunction with documents of practice. For long before theology developed as a standardized branch of learning, medieval Europeans had already been communicating values through the stylized actions of public worship. In this instance, *lex orandi, lex credendi*.

Andrew Reeves explores further this intersection of practice and belief by examining how medieval laypeople, themselves largely illiterate (i.e., non-Latinate), learned the doctrines formulated in the elite environment of schools and universities of Western Europe in the later Middle Ages. The pastoral literature generated by graduates of medieval universities strives to pass on the

teachings of theology and canon law that were being discussed in the universities in a way that would be relevant to their lay parishioners. Charles J. Reid's focus on the sacrament of marriage becomes a test case of this theological and legal development of priestly practice even before the arrival of the universities, showing how there was always a dance between the development of theological and canonical legislation and its implication in the lives of lay parishioners. Reid takes seriously the idea that there is a tradition in the Christian church that consists in conversation between the generations; therefore, what Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo, and the Irish penitentials have to say about marriage continues to greatly influence later medieval thinking.

Rounding out the volume are essays on the nature of the medieval priesthood in general (Robert Swanson), the priestly concepts of *ordinatio* and the *imago Christi* (†Roger E. Reynolds), priesthood in the Byzantine Empire (Augustine Casiday), the reforming and changing nature of the priesthood in the later Middle Ages (C. Colt Anderson and Michael Cusato), and the relationship of the diaconate to the medieval priesthood (William T. Ditewig). Though each contributor's methodology varies, each is committed to an examination of primary sources, letting the medieval theologians and practitioners have the last word.

It is with deep regret that Roger E. Reynolds passed away during the production of this volume. Thus, his chapters stand as they were submitted, with only minor editorial corrections. Roger's contributions to questions of medieval *ordinatio* are well-known and it is an honor that some of his last work on the subject appears in these pages. Translations from Latin in Roger's chapter on the ordinals are the work of Robert Thomas Llizo, approved by Roger before his passing. I would also like to thank my co-editor Colt Anderson, for carefully reading the chapters and making clear suggestions for improvement, and Christopher M. Bellitto, series editor, for his ongoing support and encouragement. This volume is dedicated to all priests, past and present, who have responded to God's calling to be a priest in the Christian church and to faithfully serve God's people.

CHAPTER 2

Apostolic Successors: Priests and Priesthood, Bishops, and Episcopacy in Medieval Western Europe

Robert N. Swanson

2.1 Introduction

From the 6th to the 16th centuries, the qualifications, status, and behaviour of the men who acted as ministers in the Christian church were a core concern of canonical regulations and theological analysis. The Church and Christianity–the regulations and theology–of 500 were not the Church and Christianity of 1500: this was a millennium of theological, practical, and conceptual change, not least regarding the clergy. This examination of the evolutions that affected the clergy across these centuries is directed especially at priests and bishops. With the Catholic Church increasingly under papal headship at Rome, attention focuses on the Western church, yet always as a somewhat federal church. A broader perspective would make the discussion far too unwieldy.

Throughout this era, priests and bishops performed the central rites of the religion. They baptized (yet not with an absolute monopoly); they heard confessions and granted absolution; they celebrated the re-enactment of Christ's Last Supper, which became the Mass; they performed the last rites, which prepared the soul for the afterlife. The bishop alone granted confirmation, the re-affirmation of baptismal promises; he alone also enacted the rite through which priests were created, the process of "ordination."

This continuity of priests and bishops is problematic. Catholicism claimed descent from the earliest church: its priests and bishops were heirs to the apostles and disciples, and their principal functions were deemed not to have changed in essentials. Alongside that protean constancy, that apostolic succession, priesthood, and episcopacy had constantly changed and evolved. That instability creates their history. However, the reality of the history is often obscured and challenging to elucidate.

Here, transitions and complications must be elided without being ignored. The evolutions were often complex, even bewildering, and debated. Unavoidably, this discussion offers an incomplete sketch, sometimes tentative and speculative, rather than a comprehensive survey. One complexity is the potential for polarization in a history which is both narrative and theological, with

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accordingly conflicting perspectives. A narrative history traces evolutions as they happen, while constructed with hindsight it moves forward through time. A theological history is to some extent constructed from a presentist agenda: leading up to (if not starting from) the doctrinal *status quo*, it reads the past through current understandings as static timeless givens or, alternatively, seeks to overthrow current understandings via reinterpretations of a pristine state based on selectivity and aspirations for change.[1]

The latter history appears throughout the centuries, and into the modern era. The Reformation, the terminal point here, read the preceding centuries through its own theological lenses. Earlier periods reveal equivalent debates and re-readings, as doctrines changed and evolved, adding further layers of complexity to the trajectories. In the histories of priests and priesthood, bishops and episcopacy, history and theology intertwine, but neither is static. One strand treats the basic human office and officer, shaped by the practicalities of contemporary expectations and real-time contexts. The other has a more ethereal and spiritual focus on the officer as a channel of grace. This demands a theological, even cosmological, approach. The strands intermingle; there is constant tension, even conflict, between theory (the spirituality of the office and otherworldliness of its goals) and practice (the humanity of the officer and the worldliness of his context).

2.2 Devils and Details

To examine priesthood and episcopacy between 500 and 1500 is to trace an incomplete story. Developments after 1500 can be ignored, but not those before 500. The earlier history can be excised, but its legacy persists. The fact that ministers are identified in the New Testament, and could be claimed as antecessors by later priests and bishops and interpreted as exemplars of what priests and bishops should be, meant that those earlier centuries continued to influence the later church (as they still do).[2] Insistence on ministerial apostolicity merged past and present to create an imagined but potent continuity.

The past which informed medieval perceptions of priesthood and episcopacy began even before Christ's Incarnation. The Christian ministry inherited

1 Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New York: 2008), 4–6.

2 For a general survey of the development of the theology of ordination up to the Reformation, Ludwig Ott, *Das Weihesacrament*, Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 4/v (Freiburg: 1969), Chs. 1–5.

the functions of the Judaic priesthood, even while breaking with it. The Christian traditions were rooted in that inheritance, perhaps most specifically in the Judaic priesthood established by Moses and Aaron. They were later cited as the founders of episcopacy and priesthood, or (as by John Fisher in 1521) as pre-figurations of Christ and Peter to presage papal headship of the Church. Other elements were also invoked: Melchisedech as the archetypal priest and John the Baptist as prototype for the later priestly role in baptism.[3]

The later medieval history followed a tectonic shift within the Church, part of a much more extensive transformation in Western European culture over the long 12th century.[4] The change may have been building for some time; but its pre-history mingles with the wider history of the earlier Church. Often traced as linear and singular, that earlier history was in reality complex and diverse. The unitary history privileges some aspects and areas, deflecting attention from others. The privileged segments are, not unreasonably, those whose history can indeed be constructed: sources survive in sufficient quantity and quality to permit reconstruction. This, though, creates a deceptive history, which ignores the gaps and unknowns. A neat history is necessarily written retrospectively, and an untidy history–whether of institutions, or ideas–is generally deemed undesirable.

Yet the history (including the history of priesthood and episcopacy) is necessarily untidy. For one thing, it was highly regionalized, incorporating the possibility of diversity in understandings and practices. Often ignored or side-lined is the challenge of the immediately sub- or post-Roman church in places like Wales and England, with continuities unlike those elsewhere in Europe; or the yet more problematic issue of ecclesiastical structures and personnel in never-Romanized territories like Ireland and Scotland, where structural arrangements would have been wholly indigenous evolutions resulting from local missionary endeavour.[5] Other borderline areas raise similar issues. In the

3 Roger Reynolds, "A Ninth-Century Treatise on the Origins, Office, and Ordination of the Bishop," in his *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination* (Aldershot: 1999), no. v, 329; Cecilia A. Hart (ed.) *English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1469–1535): Sermons and Other Writings, 1520–1535* (Oxford: 2002), 79–80. See also Ruth Melinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley: 1970), 94–106, 110–17.

4 See below.

5 For general comment, Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain, 600–800* (Harlow: 2006), 109–75. For Wales, Huw Pryce, "Pastoral Care in Early Medieval Wales," in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, (eds.) John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: 1992), 41–62, esp. 47–48, 62. On Ireland, see Richard Sharpe, "Churches and Communities in Early Medieval Ireland: Towards a Pastoral Model," in ibid., 107–9; and the summary commentary on the personnel of the pre-Norman Irish church, Roger Reynolds, "Clerics in the Early Middle

Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Leon the Roman liturgy replaced the pre-existing "Mozarabic" rites in the 12th century (Catalonia had already long been an area of transition). Precisely what changes this entailed is unclear, but the liturgical differences led one Spanish cleric to seek advice from Pope Paschal II on the validity of ordinations using the Spanish rite.[6]

The arrangements in the early Irish church appear especially perplexing. It was a church of priests and bishops; but Irish episcopacy looks rather different from that of more mainstream regions in the accepted history. (Irish priesthood is equally obscure.) Just how different it was is unclear. Analyses to delineate the church and its internal relationships have produced imprecise and uncertain distinctions between, for instance, "fully-fledged bishops" and others;[7] but what this meant in practice for the role and status of priests and bishops is elusive. Ireland participated in the 12th-century tectonic shift, but what it actually shifted from is uncertain.[8]

A rather similar situation applies in Anglo-Saxon England, despite clear evidence for the presence of priests and bishops. Gaps in the sources preclude detailed reconstruction of the priestly contribution to this church; even the episcopal contribution is often elusive.[9]

The probability that there were regionalized appreciations and evolutions of priesthood and episcopacy needs to be integrated into the Church's early medieval history, even if those variants cannot be properly recovered. The recovery of the complete history is also impeded by the lack of clear contemporary evidence and commentary, with often surprisingly few dots being available

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Ages: Hierarchies and Functions," in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot: 1999), no. I, 21–25. For Scotland, see scattered comments in Alan MacQuarrie, "Early Christian Religious Houses in Scotland: Foundation and Function," in Blair and Sharpe, *Pastoral Care*, 110–33.

6 Roger Reynolds, "The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain: Hispanic, Roman, and Hybrid," in his *Clerical Orders: Duties and Ordination*, no. XIII, 132–33.

7 E.g. Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, A.D. 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: 1999), 144, 163, 167–68.

8 Marie Therese Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: 2010). For the preceding church, T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: 2000), Ch. 6, 10; Etchingham, *Church Organisation*; John Blair. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: 2005), 45–48; T.M. Charles-Edwards, "Introduction: Prehistoric and Early Ireland," in *A New History of Ireland, I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* , (ed.) Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: 2005), lxix–lxxviii. This work replaces the model established by Kathleen Hughes, outlined (with some revisions) in "The Church in Irish Society, 400–800," ibid., 301–30, and "The Irish Church, 800-*c.*1050," ibid., 635–55.

9 In general, Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*.

to join up–rightly or not–in the reconstruction. There is also the overlay of misrepresentation applied by later commentators (even in the Middle Ages) whose analysis was affected by their own misunderstanding of the past as recipients not just of the evolved tradition, but of preceding misleading and misunderstood analyses. The ambiguities in the sources, as words changed their meaning, or had several meanings, create traps and distortions that may not always be evident–especially if the meanings are understood through a more recent lens, or via translations, which impose a selected meaning. "Priest," "bishop," "ordination," and many other terms carry centuries of cultural baggage and preconceptions, some of which they acquired during the medieval period. A retrospective appreciation, smoothing out the evolutions and ignoring the abrupt changes in direction, makes the history seem more straightforward than it was.

In addition, the history is not steadily linear. Its subject matter necessarily makes it a hybrid history, because the reconstruction must frequently incorporate interpretations and understandings based on re-readings of the past through a (then) contemporary theological and doctrinal lens. The concept of "reform," seeking to re-form the Church to its pristine purity, repeatedly allowed the past to be imagined into a new future. The Church's early legislative tradition left a legacy of decrees which, while produced regionally, were transmitted across time and space to be invoked in campaigns to take the Church in new (but purportedly old) directions. If old canons gave insufficient ammunition, new concoctions, forgeries, could be insinuated into the tradition and have lasting influence. The outcome might be a lurch in the history, a sudden change of direction. One such occurred in the 9th century, when the campaign against auxiliary bishops in the West Frankish church tarred them through the earlier canons against Eastern *chorepiscopi*, augmented by the newly-forged pseudo-Isidorian decretals.[10] Likewise, in the Investiture Contest of *c*.1060-*c*.1120, appeals to the past provided the footings for the enhancement of papal authority (bolstered again by forgeries) and the reshaping of priesthood and episcopacy. More subtle was the influence of works produced by an unknown 6th-century author, which were passed off and accepted as written by Dionysius the Areopagite, the biblical follower of the Apostle Paul at Athens. Accepted as authentic testimony of the primitive church, they had a lasting influence in the West.

It is tempting to ally the 12th-century tectonic shift with the transitions identified by R.I. Moore and Henry Mayr-Harting. For the former, the era saw an increasingly assertive clerical caste establish itself as an elite force and

10 See below, pp. 34–5.

influence in Western Europe, using its own intellectual power and authority to persuade the laity to accept–or imposing upon them–the existence of a fundamental divide between clergy and laity, and to validate the clergy's supremacy and enhanced status.[11] For Mayr-Harting "the rise of clericalism" was less aggressive, but still transformed the status of the clergy by asserting an "ideal which emphasised the sacredness of the priestly vocation, requiring priests to live up to their high calling."[12] However, firm links are elusive, and not absolutely essential; what matters is that the change occurred. It is perhaps easier to identify than to trace it (contemporary intellectuals are strangely silent about the transition). In the period's many discussions of the sacraments "The one … sacrament which is taken for granted, to such an extent that it is frequently passed over in silence or given a very scanty treatment even by masters seeking to promote its dignity and its necessity elsewhere in their sacramental theology, is holy orders"–the sacrament of ordination.[13]

Yet there was codification, of requirements and expectations, as canon law developed in and after the 12th century.[14] The legal and legalistic regulations address the incidentals of being a priest, not the necessarily theological essentials of priesthood.[15] The accompanying theological and doctrinal codification was provided in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which as the basic textbook of scholastic theology offered foundational guidance for later understandings of ordination, and so of priesthood.[16] This process of codification formalized two different approaches to the Church's structure and internal relationships. Subsequent tensions and conflicts between canonistics and theology–inherent in the 12th-century evolutions themselves[17]–would have serious implications and

11 R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970–1215* (Oxford: 2000); R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 2007).

12 Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain 1066–1272* (Harlow: 2011), 119–24 (quotation at 119). See also Gary Macy, "The 'Invention' of Clergy and Laity in the Twelfth Century," in *A Sacramental Life: a Festschrift honoring Bernard Cooke*, (eds.) M.H. Barnes and W.P. Roberts, Marquette Studies in Theology, 37 (Milwaukee: 2003), 117–35.

13 Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, vol. 2 (Leiden: 2000), 614.

14 Partially discussed in Anton G. Weiler, "The Requirements of the *pastor bonus* in the Late Middle Ages," in *The* Pastor Bonus*: Papers read at the British-Dutch Colloquium at Utrecht, 18–21 September 2002*, (eds.) Theo Clemens and Wim Janse, Dutch Review of Church History/Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, 83 (Leiden: 2004), 59–76.

15 Colish, *Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, 615.

16 See discussion and summary Colish, *Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, 621–28.

17 Nicholas M. Haring, "The Interaction between Canon Law and Sacramental Theology in the Twelfth Century," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval*

ramifications for the theory and practice of the distribution of sacramental and jurisdictional power within the Western church.

The complex influences which affected understandings of priesthood and episcopacy across the early medieval centuries, and whose eventual legacy underpinned later medieval appreciations, make a single linear evolution a misleading history. Yet a history of some sort is needed. Acknowledging all of the potential pitfalls and admitting to its necessary incompleteness, that is what this chapter seeks to provide.[18]

2.3 Ranks, Grades, or Orders?

Priesthood and episcopacy secured their biblical foundations in Christ's commissions to the twelve apostles and seventy disciples, but the New Testament provided relatively weak underpinning for the medieval ministry. A massive gap existed with the lack of any firm biblical basis for the subsequent concept of ordination: no text provides anything equivalent to the initiation of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. In the Middle Ages this absence was perhaps overlooked, because the tradition was not radically contested. It did, however, become noticeable at the Reformation.[19]

Canon Law, Toronto 21–25 August 1972, (ed.) S. Kuttner (Vatican City: 1976), 483–93; Yves M.-J. Congar, "Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle et le début du XIVe," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litteraire du moyen âge* 36 (1961): 38–43.

18 This article complements and expands some of my other work on medieval clerics: "Before the Protestant Clergy: the Construction and Deconstruction of Medieval Priesthood," in *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*, (eds.) C. Scott Dixon and Luise Schorn-Schütte (Basingstoke: 2003), 39–59, 200–09; "Pastoralia in Practice: Clergy and Ministry in pre-Reformation England," in *The* Pastor Bonus, (eds.) Clemens and Janse, 104–28; "Pastoral Revolutionaries? Parish Clergy and Religious Leadership in Late Medieval England," in *Episcopacy, Authority, and Gender: Aspects of Religious Leadership in Europe, 1100–2000*, (eds.) Jan Wim Buisman, Marjet Derks, and Peter Raedts (Leiden: 2015), 114–26. Some significant issues cannot be addressed here: (1) The inherent and long-standing tension between "priests [perhaps even bishops] in the sight of God" and "priests [or bishops] according to the Church"; (2) The all-inclusive idea of a "royal priesthood of all believers," derived essentially from I Peter 2 and the community established by baptism; (3) Alternative "priesthoods" and hierarchies generated among heretical groups in the medieval West.

19 David Bagchi, "'Eyn mercklich underscheyd': Catholic Reactions to Luther's Doctrine of the Priesthood of All Believers, 1520–25," *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989), 158–59.

"Ordination" does not appear in the list of sacraments provided by Isidore of Seville (d. 636).[20] By 1200 it was one of the seven generally accepted. One result of the 12th-century tectonic shift was consolidation of the concept of priesthood and a clarification of the meaning of "ordination." Much of the new formulation had been inherent in earlier understandings, but now–seemingly–canonical and theological tradition congealed into something like a template. At ordination, through the bishop as intermediary, a priest received from Christ the sacramental powers inherent in priesthood–critically, the powers to confect the Eucharist, and to grant absolution after confession. Sacramental ordination was conceived as an infusion of powers which, labelled as "character," became in a sense part of a priest's DNA.[21] A distinction could be, and was, drawn between that inalienable character and the possibility of losing the authority to exercise its associated powers, allowing their legitimate exercise to be temporarily or permanently suspended.[22]

In some respects, the tectonic shift also cloaked itself. It created something new, yet precisely how new is elusive. Presented as an evolution and consolidation, a re-configuration of the pre-existing using recycled and reinterpreted sources (including unrecognized forgeries), the new priesthood overwhelmed and submerged preceding models and understandings. Nowhere, perhaps, is this now more apparent than in the concept of "ordination" itself.

Once created, the 12th century's construct of theologized sacramental ordination was projected back on to the past. Earlier "ordination" was retrospectively brought into conformity with current understanding. Modern scholarship–in part motivated by a desire to challenge the 12th-century inheritance–has recovered the older meanings and stripped away the retrospective distortions. However, it has not brought full recovery of the past.

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20 Quoted by Haring, "Interaction," 483.

21 Although "character" came late: Alain Rauwel, "Les hiérarchies internes à l'ordre sacerdotal et la question de la sacramentalité de l'épiscopat dans l'Église romaine de saint Augustin à Pierre Lombard," in *Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'occident médiéval (400–1100)*, (eds.) F. Bougard, D. Iogna-Prat, and R. le Jan (Turnhout: 2008), 114–15; Ott, *Weihesakrament*, 48–49.

22 Indelibility may not have been total in all circumstances: rites to degrade criminal clerics before they were handed over to secular authorities for punishment hint that the reduction to lay status was total (one text even calling it "exordination"). See Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Absetzung von Klerikern in Recht und Titus vernehmlich des 13. Und 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: Salamanca, 21–25 September* 1976, (eds.) Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington (Vatican City: 1980), 517–32 (esp. 529); Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Degradation von Klerikern im späten Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 34 (1982): 305–23 (esp. 310, 314, 316, 318–19, 323).

It is now increasingly clear that the Latin word *ordinare* and its derivatives–including "ordination"–had multiple meanings in the early medieval centuries (it retained them after 1100, but with clearer awareness of differentiations). The most widespread was seemingly "to appoint" or "to install" to a post or rank, without any explicitly religious, spiritual, or theological connotations.[23] That cannot exclude possible implicit connotations, which were perhaps unavoidable. If "ordination" conferred authorization and authority to undertake sacramental duties, the appreciations of those duties would reflect back on the performer. Particularly important here might be understandings of the Eucharist, and of absolution: if their sacramental nature required agents whose authorization was understood theologically, as conferred sacramentally, that would matter. The notion of "character" was perhaps not entirely absent before 1100, but it was not then integral to appreciations of priesthood.

Perhaps also absent was a firm sense of a *cursus honorum* of orders as a required career progression. While such progression was indeed outlined, with established "interstices" (prescribed gaps between the separate stages if undertaken progressively), firm evidence for its practical implementation is limited. An evolutionary history can be constructed, but its linearity may be deceptive.[24] Here the fragmentary evidence allows multiple readings. It was apparently possible to enter these ranks at any point, not necessarily only at the bottom: each specific "order" was a job title rather than a qualification, a rank or grade requiring different skills or levels of maturity. Maybe each grade was assumed to contain within itself the attributes of all the lower ranks, with each a potential entry point for suitably qualified candidates, but without the orders being treated (as later) as a single cumulative process, in which each conferred distinct powers that had to be received retrospectively if any stage was omitted.[25] Unlike later ordination, the early medieval process should perhaps be seen as simple graduation or professional promotion.

Against this background, the fact that "ordination" was an episcopal prerogative made what the bishop did, or was understood to do, fundamental to its meaning. A stress on the laying-on of hands and the gift of the Holy Spirit, apparent in the "ordinals of Christ" and extant ordination rituals, reveals that as the critical action; yet its precise meaning is not stated–did the bishop *confer*

23 Macy, *Hidden History*, 23–35; Gary Macy, "Die Bedeutung der Ordination im ersten Jahrtausend des Christentums," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 192 (2012), 329–30.

24 John St H. Gibaut, *The Cursus honorum: a Study of the Origins and Evolution of Sequential Ordination* (New York: 2000).

25 E.g. Roger Reynolds, "The subdiaconate as a sacred and superior order," in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image*, no. IV, 12–13.

something or *infuse* it? A sacramental ordination which imposes a theological character implies and almost requires infusion. But what of conferral? Here another ritualized aspect of ordination needs attention: the *traditio instrumentorum*, when the bishop gave the ordinand the symbolic instruments of his rank. Introduced into ordination rites in the 10th century, this might be understood sacramentally (and duly was, when Thomas Aquinas's interpretation was accepted as definitive).[26] However, set within a different symbolic system, one more like contemporary investitures, the *traditio* might suggest conferral more than infusion.

If a functional sense of ordination holds, it impacts on understanding of the structure and working of the earlier church. If ordination was to a specific post or office, then it would be firmly career-oriented: posts had to exist to justify the ordination (a consideration underlying the concept of "title");[27] their duties might dictate the rank ("order") of the required cleric. How many priests did the Church actually need? How did the ordination hold if it did not infuse a specific character into the ordinand? Could one be an "ex-priest?" Ecclesiastical organization before the emergence of a firm parochial structure perhaps meant that deacons were needed more than priests. More priests would be required only as they were needed to undertake local pastoral care and as private churches proliferated in the final centuries of the first millennium to increase provision of sacramental services. The early medieval proto-parishes, extensive territories centred on a baptismal church with subsidiary chapels or churches (a pattern retained for centuries in Italian *pieve*, and perhaps exemplified in the "minster parishes" of Anglo-Saxon England) might well fit this bill, with the dependent churches being left in the custody of clergy of sub-priestly rank.[28]

The surviving sources are inadequate to judge the validity of this argument. No extensive ordination records survive before the 13th century. The scrappy figures available for 8th- and 9th-century papal ordinations are largely uninformative. However, if they are at all complete records of priestly ordinations, they suggest that few new appointments were needed (they also, however, suggest

26 Rauwel, "Les hiérarchies," 110–11; Kenneth W.T. Carleton, "The *traditio instrumentorum* in the Reform of Ordination Rites in the Sixteenth Century," *Studies in Church History* 35 (1999): 172–77.

27 See below, pp. 16–17.

28 For England see Catherine Cubitt, "The Clergy in Anglo-Saxon England," *Historical Research* 78 (2005): 286–87, going beyond comments in Catherine Cubitt, "Images of St Peter: the Clergy and the Religious Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, (ed.) Paul Cavill (Cambridge: 2004), 52–53.

even fewer ordinations of deacons.).[29] Yet, overall, the argument does seem credible and makes the tectonic shift all the more remarkable.

2.4 Becoming a Priest

Whatever "ordination" actually meant across this millennium, it ritually distinguished priests from the rest of humanity and gave them a specific quasi-cosmological status. However, they often remained all too obviously flawed and very human men. For some time before their priestly ordination they were also "clergy." The progression to priesthood took time. Many men never completed it and remained (or simply died) as "clerics" without being "priests." For those who received priestly orders after the consolidation of sacramental priesthood, the ritual transition entailed a "radical ontological change;"[30] it was no mere change of status. Yet, while ordination separated "priests" from "people," priests always were people, both before and after ordination. Fundamentally, priesthood distinguished priests *within* human society; it did not extract or exclude them from it.

The priest's basic "person specification" would reflect the expectations and realities of the contemporary church. Yet before canon law congealed in the 12th century and the appropriate administrative machinery was put in place for its enforcement, detailed knowledge of priests' lives is scanty and canonical pronouncements may offer little guide to reality. There might well be regional variations invisible in the sources and formal regulations may or may not have worked. The ban on ordaining men of servile status had been impossible to sustain in the preceding centuries, in a context of real lordly control over churches and their personnel.[31] How far marriage was permitted or condoned for Western clergy might also vary: abstinence from sexual activity perhaps made married cohabitation acceptable, even if some authors wanted complete dissolution of marital ties on ordination.[32]

29 Gibaut, *Cursus honorum*, 206–07.

30 Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford: 1994), 109.

31 For the canonical position before Gratian, Peter Landau, "Frei und Unfrei in der Kanonistik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der Ordination der Unfreien," in *Die abendländische Freiheit vom 10. Zum 14. Jahrhundert: der Wirkungzusammenhang von Idee und Wirklichkeit im europäischen Vergleich*, (ed.) J. Fried (Sigmaringen: 1991), 179–87. For 8th-century England, Cubitt, "Clergy," 287.

32 Cubitt, "Images of St Peter," 52.

A presumed universal code of basic qualifications for admission to the clerical orders developed in the later Middle Ages, applicable from the subdiaconate upwards and therefore some time before priestly ordination. It required candidates to be of the required age, free-born, legitimate, unmarried (but not never-married), not "bigamists" (so not themselves twice-married, or married to a widow), not homicides, not seeking advancement by simony or fraud, and with sufficient title or means of support. If being ordained outside their natal diocese they also needed "letters dimissory" both allowing them to receive ordination and another bishop to confer it.[33] Most of these stipulations might be legally circumvented or illicitly or unwittingly broken. Most could be canonically by-passed with a papal dispensation; evasion is revealed when tortured consciences or anxieties about career progression impelled those affected to rectify their position.[34] The bar on ordination of the unfree disappeared if lords and slave-owners granted freedom, which required no formal ecclesiastical intervention; but lords might be justifiably wary that pleas for emancipation to receive orders were merely a ruse to escape a legal status.[35]

Only with the outlawing of clerical marriage by the Gregorian reform movement were married men absolutely debarred from ordination (although full implementation took some time). A widower of only one wife (if he had been her sole husband) could still become a priest. Even the currently married might be legally ordained, if the wife adopted a religious life to free her husband for priesthood.[36]

The age limit merits some reflection. In the early 12th century, the minimum age for admission to priesthood was 30, and 25 for deacons. As long as only those orders demanded celibacy individuals could delay committing themselves to an

33 Jill B. Hughes (ed.) *The Register of Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1296–1301*, vol. 2, Canterbury and York Society 97 (Woodbridge, UK: 2007), 153, 160–61; Kirsi Salonen and Jussi Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia, 1458–1471* (Farnham: 2013), 8–11; Guido of Monte Rochen (trans. with intro. Anne T. Thayer and Katharine J. Lualdi), *Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry* (Washington, DC: 2011), 114–18.

34 For dispensations see e.g., Peter D. Clarke and Patrick N.R. Zutshi, eds., *Supplications from England and Wales in the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary, 1410–1503, Volume* I*: 1410–1464*, Canterbury and York Society 103 (Woodbridge, UK: 2012), xxxiv, xlii–xlv; Salonen and Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career*, Part 1 and 251–55. See also Siegfried Wenzel, "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, 'Deus est'," *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970), 253–54.

35 For the canonical position post-Gratian, R.H. Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law* (Athens, GA: 1996), 66–79; R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: 1989/1993), 36–38. The bar also disappeared where serfdom eroded.

36 For one case, Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office, FOR.3, ff. 94r-v.

asexual existence until comparatively late in life–perhaps after many laymen had already married. It was also late enough to make higher orders a real career and lifestyle choice between priesthood and continued lay status; and the minimum age was never the obligatory age for assuming orders. The 12th-century imposition of celibacy on subdeacons, and the later reduction in the minimum ordination age for priests to 25, perhaps changed some of the calculations, but not radically. As long as the subdiaconate was delayed, there was no irrevocable career commitment.[37]

The demand for a "title" was another essentially administrative qualification, one for which issues of continuity and change also arise. The titular system went back a long way: joining the clerical ranks required an assurance of guaranteed income.[38] This was initially an obligation on the bishop. The title identified the post, which its occupant would be expected to hold or serve for life, originally within the episcopal city or cathedral. By 500 this arrangement was already challenged by the rise of rural churches, less directly under episcopal control, but still available to provide income as titles under the same rules. The emphasis on the post to which the cleric was appointed–often, in contemporary parlance, "ordained"–is significant here. The assumption that it would be held for life might prove ill founded. Clerics were driven out, or fled, and thereby lost their titles, but continued to act as clerics. Illicit ordinations also meant that some never held a formal title.

Such "absolute" titles were formally illegal, but by the 11th century the growing demand for clergy further challenged the system (yet even in 1059 the

37 For the change in ordination ages, compare Emil Friedberg (ed.) *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1879–1881), vol. 1, col. 275–76 with vol. 2, col. 1140. Strict or pedantic understanding of the latter's "in … aetatis suae anno" probably explains the stipulation in Johannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi* (Paris: 1518), 7.4.A , that priesthood could be acquired at "more than 24 years" ("maior .xxiiij. annis"). On abandonment of orders, Ralph V. Turner, "The *miles literatus* in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England: how rare a Phenomenon?" *American Historical Review* 83 (1978), 930–31; Jean Dunbabin, "From Clerk to Knight: Changing Orders," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood, II: Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference, 1986*, (eds.) C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, UK: 1988), 30–33.

38 For titles until 1200, Vinzenz Fuchs, *Der Ordinationstitel, von seiner Enstehung bis auf Innozenz III. Eine Untersuchung zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anschauungen Rudolph Sohms*, Kanonistische Studien und Texte, 4 (Bonn: 1930; repr. Amsterdam: 1963), the origins at 7–9. Stimulating ideas in Julia Hillner, "Families, Patronage, and the Titular Churches of Rome, c.300–c.600," in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, (eds.) Kate Cooper and Julia Hillner (Cambridge: 2007), 225–61.

Roman synod referred to clerics as ordained *to* churches, suggesting that ordination was still envisaged as a matter of replacing predecessors, or manning a new church).[39] However, prospective clerics might have sufficient personal resources to survive without actually needing a church post. In 1179 Pope Alexander III changed the rules. Utterly "absolute" ordinations were still illegal (the ordaining bishop was to provide support until a post became available), but titles derived from personal or familial resources were permitted.[40] The connection with benefices was not formally broken–they regularly provided titles in later centuries. However, ending the obligatory link opened up less formal career opportunities, which fuelled the subsequent considerable increase in clerical numbers (and their fluctuations). Exactly how titles divorced from benefices were demonstrated and tested remains unclear. In the only surviving substantial ordination records, from England, most titles are provided by religious houses in numbers far beyond their actual needs, so they must be in some sense fictitious. Yet the earliest of these records suggest that a low-level parochial post was often envisaged at least as providing initial employment, while others were indeed drawing on their own or family resources, or relied on private patrons. Such titles were probably unenforceable after ordination, so that for most clerics job and income security remained unattainable.[41] Policing was also problematic, creating opportunities for fraud.[42]

Ordination qualifications based on age and holding a title ignore issues of ability or vocation. Personal qualities and character did matter, including a vague *scientia*, but testing was not to be too strict, and suitability might be generalized to little more than a good local reputation.[43] Some literacy (and so Latinity) was essential to participate in the liturgy and engage with the ecclesiastical administration. Pre-ordination assessments did test learning, and bishops sometimes required those with insufficient skills to receive further instruction, but the assessments could be subverted by fraud.[44] "Quality checks" supposedly

39 Reynolds, "Subdiaconate," 12 n.59.

40 Tanner 1.214.

41 R.N. Swanson, "Titles to Orders in Medieval English Episcopal Registers," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, (eds.) H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (London: 1985), 233–45; see also the important study by David Robinson, "Titles for Orders in England, 1268–1348," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65 (2014): 522–50.

42 Salonen and Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career*, 250–53.

43 Johannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*, 7.3.G.; Swanson, "Titles to Orders," 240; Guido of Monte Rochen, *Handbook for Curates*, 6, 117–18.

44 Swanson, "Titles to Orders," 239–41; William J. Dohar, "*Sufficienter litteratus*: Clerical Examination and Instruction for the Cure of Souls," in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in*

also applied when individuals were instituted to their benefices, but these would obviously affect only a minority of clergy, especially in the later Middle Ages. Wider checking of credentials occurred at parochial visitations. The overall rigour of these arrangements is unclear. If there was a perceived shortage of priests, both the authorities and the laity may have tolerated a reduction in quality to ensure continuity of spiritual provision.

Priests clearly did need education, not just inspiration. With no formal seminaries, the arrangements for priestly training in the pre-Tridentine church are notoriously elusive. The main requirement was training in pastoral care rather than the abstractions of theology.[45] The many pre-Gregorian deacons, priests, and bishops admitted to those posts without any previous clerical experience suggests that they gained their necessary education, especially literacy, outside any ecclesiastical training system.

There are signs of some kind of preparation. Early episcopal households served as training grounds for priests, possibly the starting point for the early cathedral schools.[46] This was perhaps particularly important when priests were few, and seen as episcopal deputies. With the emergence of parishes, and the proliferation of rural churches served by their own priest distant from the cathedral, alternative forms of training were needed. In the absence of seminaries (although training schools of a kind are recorded in 15th-century Ireland),[47] this would be more akin to apprenticeship than education. Where clerical dynasties transmitted a family benefice by hereditary succession, such training was perhaps like preparation to assume an inheritance. Elsewhere, boys and young men were placed with serving priests to learn the trade.[48]

Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, o.P., (eds.) Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, IN: 1997), 305–21; Salonen and Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career*, 146–47, 195–203. For a rejected candidate, R.N. Swanson, "Learning and Livings: University Study and Clerical Careers in Later Medieval England," *History of Universities* 6 (1986–7), 84–85.

45 Summary survey in Christopher M. Bellitto, "Revisiting Ancient Practices: Priestly Training before Trent," in *Medieval Education*, (eds.) Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski (New York: 2005), 35–49. See also Swanson, "Learning and Livings," 84–85.

46 This is seemingly a stage in some of the individual careers collected in Julia Barrow, "Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers, c.900–c.1200," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2008): 53–57.

47 Michael A.J. Burrows, "Fifteenth-Century Irish Provincial Legislation and Pastoral Care," *Studies in Church History* 25 (1989), 63–64.

48 Réginald Grégoire, "L'ordine ed il suo significato: 'utilitas' e 'caritas'," in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, vol. 1, Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 33 (Spoleto: 1987), 650.

In 14th-century Italy, such arrangements were sometimes recorded in formal apprenticeship agreements.[49]

The intensity and quality of such training cannot be assessed in detail. Possibly expectations varied, those for a mere Mass priest (whose function was simply to celebrate for souls) being different from those applied to a priest with full cure of souls.[50] Yet, given that numerous unbeneficed priests did undertake the cure of souls, notably as stand-ins for the formal incumbent (who might not himself be a priest), all priests were perhaps expected to be fit for the cure of souls–and parishioners would almost certainly complain if they were not. This may have become a more pressing concern in the late medieval centuries, when progression from acolyte to priest became swifter (at least in England). Even if frequently ignored before 1200, the interstices in the *cursus honorum* of orders, and the very idea of such progression, presumably had some purpose. To ensure that each individual was properly trained for each rank in the ministry, the intervals between each stage allowing acquisition of the required next level of learning and experience. English ordination lists from before 1350 suggest that the interstices were then still being taken reasonably seriously. By 1400, however, ordinands regularly progressed from subdeacon to priest at three successive Ember Day ceremonies–over barely six months. This allowed commitment to the Church to be deferred (the decisive age being now the twenty-five required for a priest); possibly candidates who opted for a clerical career only shortly before becoming subdeacons were also less well prepared for their new duties and would need further post-ordination training.[51]

Some post-ordination training was available through diocesan synods and local chapters, and through self-help by reading the multitude of instructional works produced in response to the "pastoral revolution" of the 13th century.[52] The pastoral revolution targeted the ignorance of priests as much as the irreligiosity of the laity. Moreover, continued post-ordination checks on parochial clergy at parish visitations, including "feedback" from parishioners on the quality of pastoral care, theoretically also allowed the authorities to oversee the quality of pastoral and spiritual provision. Yet it is noteworthy, perhaps

49 Daniel Bornstein, "How to Behave in Church and How to Become a Priest," in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, (ed.) M. Rubin (Princeton, NJ: 2009), 111–13.

50 See, e.g., Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England* (Cambridge: 2005), 336.

51 Swanson, *Church and Society* , 42–43.

52 Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: the Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: 1989), 489–96.

telling, that such quality control mechanisms were needed after the ordinands had already been let loose on the laity.

With its manifold hurdles, the process of becoming a priest was intentionally testing. It was also a process that the authorities could police only with difficulty. The quality of the candidates was always an issue, because so many extraneous factors and forces played on the individuals who put themselves, or were put, forward. Ideally, priesthood should be a vocation, but it was also a job and a career. Its opportunities and rewards often clashed with the theological and moral emphases of a vocation directed towards the cure of souls.[53] Policing was needed to ensure that ordination (however understood) was both licit and valid, but could not be universally effective, and unknown numbers slipped through the net.[54] Yet, while the process of becoming a priest provided a system to be played, the theological concept of priesthood was an ideal to be attained. Becoming a priest was one thing; being a priest something entirely different.

2.5 Being a Priest

The men who became priests between 500 and 1500 can probably be numbered in millions. For each of them the experience of "being a priest" was unique: the definition and description of their status would be personal and individual, and all the variety and variation in those lives and experiences cannot possibly be analysed here. Lack of sources constrains commentary on priestly experience before the 12th century, other than through the normative expectations promulgated in legislation (which show that expectations were not being met). Only with the clear separation of clergy and laity in the 12th century, and with the massive expansion of the literate culture in all its aspects in subsequent centuries,[55] can priestly experiences be effectively described and assessed.

Peter Marshall has identified and analysed core elements of "being a priest" in pre-Reformation England, which are valid categories over much of the

53 See criticisms in William de Melton, *Sermo exhortatorius cancellarii Eboracensis hii qui ad sacros ordines petunt promoveri* (London: *c.*1510); J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet,* DD (London: 1887), 293–304.

54 For one striking case, Ludwig Schmugge, *Marriage on Trial: Late Medieval German Couples at the Papal Court* (Washington, DC: 2012), 168–71.

55 The classic discussion, despite its Anglocentric focus, is M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1993).

late-medieval period. The majority relate to spiritual roles and functions: confessor, celebrant, teacher, anointed, celibate, and pastor–aspects which can be differentiated yet merge and overlap as the cure of souls. Two aspects are more social, locating the priest within his community. In his parish he was a neighbour to his parishioners as well as their priest, and would be expected to be a good neighbour. Yet as neighbour and priest he might also be perceived as an enemy, because he failed to be a good neighbour, or because, as a priest, he was considered either too assiduous and demanding or too lax.

The essential point here is that priests lived among other people. Being only human (despite being conceptually higher than angels), almost by definition many would fail to meet all of the demands and expectations of their life. Most priests lived *in seculum*, in the world; they were "secular" clerics. Even if living only in the small world of a parish, they encountered the contacts, distractions, and rivalries of human society, the conditions in which there could be "good" and "bad" priests–and the sources usually point to the bad rather than the good. Following the 12th-century tectonic shift, priests (and all would-be priests) had to cope with the economic and social forces and pressures of contemporary life. For some, these provided opportunities to exploit; for others, contexts in which they were exploited. Essentially, the clerical life became a career path, with its attendant temptations and rewards, successes and disappointments. Divisions within the clergy, between the winners and losers, between those who secured the plum posts and those reduced to scraping an insecure living among a "clerical proletariat," created chasms within their ranks. Tensions arose when lay expectations for the quality of clergy were not fulfilled (even if laypeople often appointed those clerics, using their patronage to satisfy other more worldly requirements). Assorted pressures pushed inappropriate candidates into the Church, or individuals became clerics for the wrong reasons. Priests could find themselves trapped in the disciplinary machinery, epitomized in parochial visitation processes, ground between the millstones of episcopal oversight and lay expectations.

In the new context of the later medieval church, being a priest made new demands. The changes impacted both on the practicalities of "being a priest"–the career opportunities–and on the conceptualization of "priestliness"–the moral and spiritual expectations and obligations. In both spheres there was continuity with the past, but also drastic change.

One obvious change was a considerable increase in the number of priests around, meeting a demand fuelled by the emphasis on provision of Masses, especially (after around 1300) Masses to speed souls through Purgatory. The number of priests needed across Europe before the tectonic shift cannot be determined; nor can it be determined afterwards, despite the great increase in

available sources. Yet numbers manifestly increased, considerably. The only country which provides significant series of ordination lists is England, where they survive incompletely from the 13th century onwards. There, total numbers of secular clerics (including all ranks) have been estimated at around 33,000 in the 13th century, dropping significantly after the Black Death (1348) but recovering to around 26,500 by 1500.[56] To put all male clergy (including members of the regular orders) at 1–2 per cent of the total population (so rather more of the adult males) is not unreasonable.

As there were only some 9–10,000 parishes in pre-Reformation England, priests' employment opportunities varied greatly. Most would have to be content with lesser posts, short-term contracts (with the potential for renewal), or just making do. Many earned a living within the late-medieval economy of salvation, saying Masses to ease souls through Purgatory. They and others served as parochial auxiliaries, often as full-time replacements for absentee incumbents. Many of these low-status priests were virtually indistinguishable from their lay relatives. Born as peasants, they lived among peasants in village communities. In towns their situation might be different, but they would still often be no more than employees and hired labour.[57]

Increasing spiritual awareness and anxiety meant that the laity increasingly demanded "good priests" to secure their salvation, especially after 1300 (and more so after 1350, when repeated plague visitations made death seem even more threatening). The stress on the redemptive power of the Mass and the potency of priestly intercession to secure a speedy transit through Purgatory after death made laypeople ever more anxious about the quality and effectiveness of their priests.[58]

A key occasion where ideals of priestly status and behaviour were expounded was clerical synods, where bishops met with their diocesan clergy as "fellow priests" (*consacerdotes*)[59] and issued legislation to maintain discipline and standards. Sermons delivered there, or explicitly addressed to clergy, were sometimes merely hortatory condemnations of abuses and complaints about failure

56 S.H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender* (Basingstoke: 1995), 213–15.

57 See e.g. Robert N. Swanson, "Le clergé rural anglais au bas moyen âge (vers 1300-vers 1530)," in *Le clergé rural dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne: Actes des XIII*èmes *journées internationales d'histoire de l'Abbaye de Flaran, 6–8 septembre 1991*, (ed.) Pierre Bonnassie, Flaran 13 (Toulouse: 1995), 61–100.

58 The tension between lay expectation and the reality of priestly delivery is well presented in Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*.

59 Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 264.

to meet expectations. Others, more usefully, provided templates, which, in their depersonalized idealism, suggest what might be expected.[60]

One 13th-century example offers a characteristic statement, a summary of the expectations of "being a priest" both comprehensive and frustratingly imprecise.[61] The priestly office itself is simply identified as "to minister to God, and dispense all the ministries" (52). Ministry towards God (53–4) entails pleading before him "in compassion for the misery and adversity of the people," sacrifice in remission of sins, prayer "to beseech necessities, whether they be the removal of bad things, or the securing of good things," and praise for the granting of benefits. This divine ministry requires moral qualities. The minister must therefore be "patient" (with its implications of suffering), desiring compassion with others and pleading for their failings; pure in order to offer the divine sacrifice; humble in prayer; and blameless (*irreprehensibilem*–with suggestions of being "unrestrained") in praising God (55–6).

In dealing with subjects, the priest has several duties and roles (56–7). He must "Cure, because priests are healers (*medici*)… Feed, because they are pastors… Cultivate… because they are labourers in the fields (*agricolae*)" and "Build [*Aedificare*, so also 'edify'], … because they are builders (*architecti*)." Each role is matched to a specific priestly task (57–8). The ministry of curing occurs through confession. There, the priest cures using the authority of God (drawing on the parable of the Good Samaritan, with Christ as the Samaritan and the priest as the inn-keeper who acts on his commission). Feeding is fulfilled through preaching, cultivation through distribution of the sacraments (which must occur in due form–*ordinate*), and building/edifying by providing a role model of good behaviour (*bonae conversationis*).

Being a priest had other complications. While priests (or clergy in general) could extract role models and inspiration from many sources, before 1200 there

60 J. Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au XIIe siècle: Étude historique et doctrinale*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1975), 371–77 (mainly about bishops, but often also applicable to priests, listing complaints at 372–73), 377–90 (about priests, listing complaints 378–81); Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 264–75. A late example is John Colet's Convocation sermon of 1512, first printed in Latin and later (in 1530) in English to support the reformist agenda. The latter version is in Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 293–304. On the validity of Colet's complaints, Christopher Harper-Bill, "Dean Colet's Convocation sermon and the Pre-Reformation Church in England," *History* 73 (1988): 191–210.

61 L. Duval-Arnould, "Trois sermons synodaux de la collection attribuée à Jean de la Rochelle (fin)," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 70 (1977): 52–60 (precise page references are given in the text). Similar expectations appear in the two other sermons, at 36–52, 60–71. Cf. the sermon "to the clergy" in Siegfried Wenzel (ed.) *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation* (Washington DC: 2008), 255–69.

is no sign of a particularly dominant model. The stress was perhaps on using similarities to validate and sustain rather than on imposing a template. Emphases may have been regional and contingent, as suggested regarding Peter's role in Anglo-Saxon England, which declined when the campaign against clerical marriage made his married status problematic.[62] While all clergy were separated from the laity and expected to adhere to stricter moral rules, priests especially were increasingly understood as Christ-substitutes, because of their spiritual significance and particularly due to their role in confecting the Eucharist. They, therefore, had to be models of purity. Sermons drew on Christ's actions as a model for priests to follow and by which to validate their preaching, praying, consecration in the Mass, and exemplary life.[63] When celebrating the Mass, the priest was a stand-in for Christ in the re-enactment of the passion, but also a God-maker through the miracle of transubstantiation, turning bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ.[64] Instructing a junior priest on the requirements of his calling, a 14th-century writer remarked, "the whole life of a good priest, if he lives rightly, ought to be a cross and a martyrdom."[65]

The late-medieval stress on the priest's personal suitability for his role in part derived from the approach to Eucharistic consecration. Before the 12th century the problem may have been even more profound, because the questionable character of a priest–his personal character, without the reassurance of his sacramental character–might raise doubts about the validity of his consecrations. Even when the priest merely invoked a consecration theologically performed by the Holy Spirit, his personal suitability to do so might be contested. This question was addressed explicitly by Pope Gelasius I (492–6): "For how will the Holy Spirit, who has been invoked, come to consecrate the divine mysteries if the priest, who prays that the Spirit be present, is in all respects guilt of sinful actions?"[66] It was never fully answered.

Even when sacramental ordination provided a doctrinal guarantee of the validity of a priest's sacramental actions, it could not resolve all issues

62 Cubitt, "Images of St Peter," 43–46, 48–50.

63 Longère, *Œuvres oratoiries*, vol. 1, 387.

64 Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, 37–40.

65 Susan Powell, "John to John: the *Manuale sacerdotis* and the Daily Life of a Parish Priest," in *Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton Symposium*, (eds.) Julia Boffey and Virginia Davis, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 17 (Donington, UK: 2009), 117.

66 Quoted in Lizette Larson-Miller, "The Liturgical Inheritance of the Late Empire in the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen van Ausdall, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 28 (Leiden: 2012), 56 n. 178.

surrounding his capacity to act. Anxiety was frequently voiced about the effectiveness of sacraments performed by a priest of poor character: would Christ willingly act through an unfit instrument? More threateningly, that the priest was merely a channel left priesthood itself fragile and insecure. If sacraments were merely utterances, the recital of transformative words, why should their performance be restricted to priests? The threat that lay people might claim to enact the Eucharist aroused some concern in the 12th century; the relevant texts remained in circulation throughout the following centuries.[67] Doubts about the status of ordination appear in discussion of its necessity for salvation, with the concession that it was "not on account of itself, but on account of [its connection with] the sacrament of the altar; hence salvation does not depend on it except as an accident."[68] Nevertheless, it was included alongside the other sacraments as an article of faith to be examined in confessions.[69]

The demand for priestly purity was one outcome of the ontological change associated with sacramental ordination. Again, especially after 1100, with the definitive condemnation of clerical marriage, the priest also rejected contemporary ideas of lay masculinity by rejecting lay status, yet remained visibly a man. What this meant for his subsequent gendered status has recently been a topic of considerable academic interest, raising questions as yet unresolved.[70] No longer a lay male, did the priest assume an alternative masculinity or enter a status that can be called a third gender? Whatever the answer, he might still be perceived as a man by his contemporaries—sometimes too much of a man. For the priest himself, the challenges of renouncing manhood while remaining physically and psychologically male often proved too much. Continued clerical sexuality was a problem throughout the later Middle Ages, although laypeople were often tolerant of concubinage despite the views of the ecclesiastical authorities.

How the priest conducted himself as a human being on whom ordination had conferred a status above that of angels was one thing, and certainly mattered. Even more important was how he conducted himself in his priestly roles as ritual actor and guide for souls seeking salvation (especially by hearing confession and

67 Macy, *Hidden History*, 42–44.

68 Wenzel, "Grosseteste's Treatise," 246.

69 Ibid., 251 (although only clerics appear to be questioned at 253–54).

70 R.N. Swanson, "Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, (ed.) D.M. Hadley (Harlow: 1999), 160–77; Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, "Man of the Church, or Man of the Village? Gender and the Parish Clergy in Medieval Normandy," *Gender and History* 18 (2006): 380–99; *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Jennifer D. Thibodeaux (Basingstoke: 2010).

granting absolution). These two aspects of being a priest were distinct, the balance between them varying for each individual priest.[71] For both clergy and laypeople, they became inseparable in 1215, when the Fourth Lateran Council required every catholic to confess and receive communion at least once a year, at Easter.[72] The distinction broke into the 13th-century debates about ordination. Duns Scotus suggested that at priestly ordination the *traditio instrumentorum* conferred the power to confect the Eucharist and the gift of the Spirit the power to absolve.[73] Tension between the two roles also emerged with suggestions that listening to sermons was actually more beneficial than watching Masses.[74]

The power to confect the Eucharist requires little comment here. Despite the great significance of the Mass and the consecrated host in pre-Reformation catholicism, consecration was essentially functional and repetitive, almost mechanical. The demand, mainly from the laity, had to be met. The constant discussion throughout the millennium of theological issues surrounding the process and meaning of consecration, which developed into the doctrine of transubstantiation, necessarily impacted on appreciations of priests and priesthood, and contributed to the exaltation of status and intense expectations of priestly behaviour.[75]

The pastoral side of priestliness requires more attention. This of course included provision of sacraments other than the Mass; the salvific sacraments of baptism and extreme unction were especially valued (at least from the 13th century) as safeguards against being consigned to damnation. Absolution was also valued, especially on the deathbed. A priest who let children and adults die unbaptized or without the last rites earned enemies.

Pastoral care–the cure of souls–involved both teaching and healing. The laity had to be taught how to live Christian lives, to avoid sin, to share in catholic faith and practices, to take responsibility for their own salvation, and to die fully prepared for the afterlife. As sinners, they would repeatedly fall short of their goals. Their defects–their sins–had therefore to be healed, by confession and absolution, to remove the guilt of the sin and perform penance to assuage the divine demand for satisfaction, either in this world or the next.

The basic teaching responsibilities of pastoral care were unchanging across the centuries, and ubiquitous. Their early history is only patchily revealed in

71 Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 336.

72 Tanner, 1.245.

73 Ott, *Das Weihesakrament*, 95.

74 E.g. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 335.

75 *Companion to the Eucharist*, (eds.) Levy, Macy, and van Ausdall; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: 1991).

the sources; they become increasingly visible after 1215 with the onset of the "pastoral revolution," generating significant textual and oral traditions, including sermons and a wide range of instructional texts for both clergy and laity.[76] The priest's role as confessor also dated back into the early medieval period. These are clear signs of its earlier importance,[77] like the fact that one Anglo-Saxon synonym for "parish" was "scrift-scir" ("absolution-district").[78] Even so, the regularity of confession before the 12th century is debated.[79] After 1215, the priest's confessional role developed with the spread of the pastoral revolution. As confessor, the priest became keeper of his flock's secrets and was placed in an ambivalent position. He had knowledge which could be misused and which would make people wary of him. A major priestly fault (one reason why parishioners might choose to confess to friars and other visiting priests) was the revelation of information acquired in confession.

2.6 Regulars and Priesthood

So far, as in most discussions of the medieval clergy, the focus has been on the seculars, the "normal" clergy. Somewhat on the sidelines, especially in the early centuries, are the "regular" priests, who were monks (and, in due course, friars). At first, most monks were, by definition, laymen. Their souls would need a curate, but early monks were not expected to become priests, as they could only do so with permission of the abbot, and perhaps on his orders rather than by choice.[80] The monk-priests were, to some extent, supernumeraries within the general run of priests and were freed from some aspects of the general

76 Beverly Mayne Kienzle (ed.) *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, Fasc. 81–83 (Turnhout: 1983); Leonard E. Boyle, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, (ed.) Thomas J. Heffernan, Tennessee Studies in Literature, 28 (Knoxville, TN: 1985), 30–44.

77 Scholarship tends to focus on penance rather than confession as such, but the two go together; see e.g. Catherine Cubitt, "Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England," *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 41–67. See also Rob Meens, "The Historiography of Early Medieval Penance," in *A New History of Penance*, (ed.) Abigail Firey (Leiden: 2008), 73–95.

78 Cubitt, "Bishops, Priests and Penance," 52; Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, 429–30.

79 Alexander Murray, "Confession before 1215," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 3 (1993): 51–81; Meens, "Historiography," 90–91.

80 Albert Groiss, "'Die Priester des Klosters' nach den ältesten Kommentaren zur Regula Benedicti," *Studia Monastica* 34 (1992): 253–79; Grégoire, "L'ordine ed il suo significato," 665–69.

canonical requirements. Late medieval evidence shows that their profession, or the presentation of their superior, substituted for a title.

If monk-priests did exercise a cure of souls, it would normally be only for their fellows, or possibly for associates of the monastery. Otherwise, they undertook priestly duties only with episcopal permission or commission. Yet the numbers of priest-monks increased rapidly after 600, and by 1100 they constituted a considerable segment of the monastic population.[81] As the Mass became more prominent in medieval religion, the need and demand for monks to be priests only increased. Thus, Masses could be offered in exchange for endowments by all varieties of male regulars, eventually including the friars.

Late-medieval regulars who became priests acted as confessors, celebrated Masses, and undertook the cure of souls. They (especially the friars) were sometimes competitors and rivals of the secular parish clergy. The Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons perhaps engaged most directly with the full cure of souls, through their holding of parish churches.[82] That engagement is exemplified in the 14th-century writings of John Mirk, prior of Lilleshall abbey in England. His *Festial* was among the most popular sermon series in late medieval England, even going into print. His *Instructions for Parish Priests* provided basic guidance on the catechetical requirements of the "pastoral revolution," dealing especially with confession. Finally, his *Manuale sacerdotis* offered a template for a priest's daily round, in a demanding regimen of prayer and spiritual self-examination.[83] The personal handbook compiled by the Premonstratensian canon John Gysborne, a parish priest in the early 1500s, closely matches Mirk's concerns.[84] The increasing number of regulars ministering among the laity is reflected in the issue of papal dispensations for them to occupy parishes, work as curates, or take on chantry responsibilities outside

81 See Giles Constable, "Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *cura animarum* in the Early Middle Ages," in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze, 10–16 aprile 1980*, vol. 1, Settmane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 28 (Spoleto: 1982), 361–65.

82 Martin Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England, c.1300–1535* (Manchester: 2009), 63; Swanson, *Church and Society* , 86.

83 Susan Powell (ed.) *John Mirk's "Festial," Edited from British Library MC Cotton Claudius A.II*, 2 vols., Early English Text Society, o.s. 334–35 (Oxford: 2009–11); Gillis Kristensson (ed.) *John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, Edited from MS Cotton Claudius A II and Six Other Manuscripts, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary*, Lund Studies in English, 49 (Lund: 1974); Powell, "John to John," 112–29.

84 Swanson, "Pastoral Revolutionaries?," 122–3.

their houses.[85] For some perhaps, such activities undermined their sense of identity as regulars and also blurred lay appreciations of the distinction between regulars and seculars.

2.7 Bishops and Episcopacy

Essentially, "being a bishop" required the same qualifications and qualities as "being a priest." While several early medieval bishops (including popes) rose directly from the diaconate to episcopacy without being explicitly made priests (although this was perhaps because becoming a bishop was assumed to incorporate becoming a priest), by 1200 acceptance of the *cursus honorum* made priesthood a precondition for valid episcopal consecration and acquisition of the power of episcopal jurisdiction.[86] Peter Marshall's analytical categories can be applied to bishops as much as priests, yet bishops were more than merely priests writ large. While numbering in their thousands rather than millions, as prelates, magnates, landlords, administrators, statesmen, and saints, bishops are more prominent in the records than ordinary priests. This applies across the whole millennium, but increasingly so with the proliferation of records (often generated by episcopal administrations) in the later medieval centuries. Again, though, all bishops were individuals and their individual careers vary greatly, challenging and confounding generalization.

The role of a bishop changed greatly over these centuries. The 6th century was still the era of sub-Roman senatorial bishops, at least in those parts of continental Europe where they retained the resources to emulate that model, or have been portrayed as doing so.[87] Bishoprics varied, with many around 1000 sufficiently organized to be labelled as "small states." In Germany and Italy, and occasionally elsewhere (for example, the bishopric of Durham in northern England), that quasi-statehood persisted over subsequent centuries.[88]

85 Alfred H. Sweet, "Papal Privileges granted to Individual Religious," *Speculum* 31 (1956): 602–10.

86 Rauwel, "Les hiérarchies," 109; Augustine McDevitt, "The Episcopate as an Order and Sacrament on the Eve of the High Scholastic Period," *Franciscan Studies* 20 (1960), 123. See also Gibaut, *Cursus honorum* , 225–26, 244–45, and comments.

87 Simon Coates, "Venantius Fortunatus and the Image of Episcopal Authority in Late Antique and Early Merovingian Gaul," *English Historical Review* 115 (2000): 1109–37.

88 Timothy Reuter, "A Europe of Bishops: the Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms," in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe,* (eds.) Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Wassenhoven (Berlin: 2011), 23. For one "state," Lawrence G. Duggan, *Bishop and Chapter: the Governance of the Bishopric of Speyer*

The lack of centralization in both ecclesiastical and secular structures before 1100–perhaps especially the absence of a dominant or domineering papacy–gave bishops considerable freedom of action and they were not firmly tied into a rigid machinery of church or state. Yet they were tied to their dioceses: in what was still a fairly primitive church structure, the bishop was a leader and focal point of his bishopric, even if not necessarily in full control.[89] This did not make bishops insignificant, but they did not need to make themselves significant. Someone like Hincmar of Rheims, a major political figure in the 8th century, is perhaps uncharacteristically prominent. To label the immediate pre-Gregorian period "The period of charismatic bishops"[90] overlooks the uncharismatic obscurity of many. Yet, insofar as generalization is possible when so many bishops in so much of Europe are obscure or utterly unknown, it may be valid to see them as "largely independent rulers with few external obligations towards pope, archbishop, and king."[91] This changed between 1100 and 1300, as a new episcopal careerism took hold, and "a 'professionalization' of episcopality" made them "managers with an MBA"[92]—and as the papacy gained increased authority and lay rulers flexed their muscles, they were often integrated as managers into chains of line management which they ceased to head. The role of the bishop changed fundamentally: "after the year 1100, bishops ceased to play the shaping role in Latin Christendom they had regularly exercised in early medieval societies."[93]

The administrative needs of the Church required and forced bishops to serve as administrators, reducing their opportunities to be spiritual leaders or role models and, perhaps, reducing the practical desirability for them to be such. Yet the spiritual ideal persisted, for even a hard-headed pontiff like Innocent III has been credited with attempting to "reverse the trend for more secularly capable and less saintly prelates," specifically (but not necessarily

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to 1552 (New Brunswick, NJ: 1978); for Durham, Gaillard T. Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham: a Study in Constitutional History* (Cambridge, MA: 1924).

89 See comments in Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: a History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London: 2009), 182–85. For limitations on control, Julia Barrow, "The Clergy in English Dioceses, c.900–c.1066," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (ed.) Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge, UK: 2005), 24. For a more diffuse discussion of episcopacy, Grégoire, "L'ordine ed il suo significato," 670–95.

90 Reuter, "Europe of Bishops," 38.

91 Ibid., 36.

92 Ibid., 38.

93 John H. van Engen, "Conclusion: Christendom, c.1100," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100*, (eds.) T.F.X. Noble and J.M.H. Smith (Cambridge: 2008), 631.

solely) in response to decadence in the Church of Languedoc. There his search for spiritual renewal brought conflict with the administrator-archbishop, Berenguer of Narbonne.[94] Across the late-medieval period, bishops were regularly criticized for seeming to ignore their spiritual responsibilities and providing poor role models and inadequate leadership and disciplinary oversight for the priests under their jurisdiction. Around 1400, such concerns exercised Pierre d'Ailly as a proponent of reform among the bishops as part of a broader programme of church reform; bishops were likewise targeted in John Colet's reformist sermon in London in 1512 for failing to rein in careerist priests.[95]

There was no formal template for being a bishop. The role's fundamental canonical requirements were those of priesthood, with the maturity of being thirty years old (but that was not always upheld). The gap was filled more by practical evolutions than theological developments.

The bishop's power of ordination, which after 1200 was an overtly sacramental power, was distinctive. In fact, so was the power of confirmation, which was also considered sacramental in due course. Lastly, so was the power to produce chrism, the necessary ingredient of baptism, which did not become sacramental. Together, these powers seemed to make the bishop a specific channel of grace, arguably more than just a priest. It is, perhaps, surprising that episcopacy did not become a separate order within the late-medieval structure, for many aspects of the role might justify that evolution. Indeed, miracles were occasionally associated with the chrism produced by saintly bishops, as in an 11th-century *Life* of Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg (d. 973).[96]

Yet episcopacy did not become a separate order. If episcopacy was not an order, then consecration as a bishop was not ordination; but this distinction probably eluded non-theologians. How far episcopal consecration was considered indelible in the early centuries is unclear. Some ex-bishops maintained their claims to the status as exiles, but perhaps considered their expulsions or depositions invalid. The fact that a translated bishop did not need to be reconsecrated, yet lost jurisdictional authority over his former diocese and had to acquire it over the new one, shows a distinction between the power of orders and jurisdiction which could be applied to an ex-bishop. Having abandoned

94 Elaine Graham-Leigh, "Hirelings and Shepherds: Archbishop Berenguer of Narbonne (1191–1211) and the Ideal Bishop," *English Historical Review* 116 (2001), esp. 1101–02.

95 Louis B. Pascoe, SJ, *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420)* (Leiden: 2005), Chs. 3–4; Lupton, *Life of Colet*, 293–304, esp. 299, 302.

96 Maureen C. Miller, "Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era," *Church History* 72 (2003), 37 (for the date, ibid., 29 n.11).

his see, he kept his order but lost his jurisdiction, and therefore could no longer autonomously exercise episcopal functions. This was particularly important with ordinations. Such a bishop could not convey the authority to exercise the function of order, even if he could confer the rank.[97] He could, however, act on commission from a diocesan, or diocesan authorities during the vacancy of a see and thereby perform complete and fully valid ordinations. Ex-bishops appear exercising non-diocesan spiritual authority from the late 1200s, like the retired archbishops of Armagh who acted as suffragan bishops in English dioceses in the early 1300s.[98]

As the diocese's pivotal figure, the bishop was theoretically inseparable from his cathedral–perhaps even indistinguishable from it–and from the clerical community which it sustained. However, the idea that the bishop was indissolubly married to his see eroded as translations were at first accepted and then became routine. Other forces also undermined the connection. In the early Medieval Church the exiguous sources suggest that the standard model of the clerical life was of groups of clergy living a common but not monastic life (especially so for the cathedral community, headed by its bishop). As the Church became less urban, individual clerics, who were not necessarily priests, came to staff small dependent churches at some distance from the civic center.[99] The emergence of parishes under their own priest meant that the communal life itself generally retreated to the cathedral and even there withered. That the communal model was already under threat in the 8th century is suggested in the *Rule* compiled by Chrodegang of Metz, in which the bishop rules as monarch within the cathedral community.[100] The division of resources between bishops and cathedral chapters in the 12th century would confirm its abandonment.[101]

More widely, the bishop was responsible for his diocese and for his subjects, both lay and clerical. The latter requires attention here. The bishop authorized and implemented parochial appointments and the beneficed clergy promised

97 G. Fransen, "La tradition des canonistes du moyen age," in *Etudes sur le sacrement de l'ordre*, Lex orandi 22 (Paris: 1957), 266–67.

98 L.A.S. Butler, "Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of York," *Northern History* 37 (2000), 56–57; David M. Smith, "Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln," *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 17 (1982), 23–24.

99 See comments of M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the* Regula canonicorum *in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge: 2004), 12–15. The Roman synod of 1059 still envisaged clerics living a common life: Reynolds, "Subdiaconate," 12.

100 Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 88, 146–49. (but cf. comments at 83).

101 For England see Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: a Study of the "Mensa episcopalis"* (Cambridge: 1994).

obedience to him when appointed, as well as to each new bishop on his appointment.[102] Episcopal visitations checked both lay and clerical activity.[103] The bishop acted as leader, teacher and legislator at diocesan synods.[104] Annually, the chrism that he consecrated was distributed across the diocese: an essential ingredient for baptisms by local priests (remotely conveying episcopal participation, even validation, to the sacrament) and a sign and acknowledgement of the jurisdictional subjection of the recipient parish and its clergy. In late Medieval England, the bishop's ultimate "ownership" of parish resources was reflected in his assumption of control (and receipt of the revenues) during vacancies between incumbents.[105] As the diocese's chief penitentiary, the bishop was the main actor in the major public penances of Lent, when penitents from across the diocese were ritually expelled from the cathedral on Ash Wednesday and ritually accepted back into it on Maundy Thursday.[106] Such links became increasingly ghostly, or merely administrative. Busy bishops often left such tasks to delegates or substitutes, while the ritual of public Lenten penance decayed as customs changed and private penances became the norm.

Regardless of basic administrative continuity, mere administrators could not assume the bishop's power of orders. However, even this situation could be circumvented. Diocesan bishops retained a lingering authority over all of their subjects (especially the clergy) throughout the latter's lives. They could concede some of that spiritual jurisdiction to other bishops: clerical subjects might receive ordination from other bishops through letters dimissory, or a suffragan or visiting bishop might be delegated to perform ordinations.[107] Similar fudging appears with indulgences, which could be issued by any bishop for his own diocesan subjects, but would be valid for others through ratification, a practice

102 For recognition of Thomas Arundel as bishop of Ely, see list in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, EDR D/2/1, ff. ii–iv.

103 Noël Coulet, *Les visites pastorales*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, fasc. 23 (Turnhout: 1977), with *mise-à-jour* (Turnhout: 1985).

104 Odette Pontal, *Les statuts synodaux*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, fasc. 11 (Turnhout: 1975). For pastoral manuals, Boyle, "Fourth Lateran Council," 30-4. For synods and pastoral formation, Odette Pontal, "Le rôle du synode diocésain et des statuts synodaux dans la formation du clergé," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 7 (1972): 339–59 (although focusing on 13th-century southern France, the comments are transferable elsewhere).

105 See, e.g., entries in Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Bps Accts 7, fols. 14r, 16r–18r, 19r, 20r–23r, 24r-25r, 26v, 28v, 29v, 31v.

106 Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: 1995).

107 For suffragans see below, pp. 35–6.

which even allowed bishops of sees *in partibus infidelium* to make grants that would be validated and deemed effective in dioceses firmly within catholic Christendom.[108]

The diocesan bishops inevitably attract most attention, but not all medieval bishops were diocesans. Medieval Europe was a Europe of bishops and dioceses, but ruling a diocese might be too much for one man, especially if his presence was required elsewhere. There were many reasons why a diocese might lack an active diocesan, not least during a vacancy in the see. The pattern of one bishop for each diocese made sense, but proved impractical where an auxiliary bishop was needed to act as the diocesan's substitute. Although somewhat marginalized in the scholarship, these auxiliaries cannot be ignored, and raise questions about how bishops and episcopacy should be defined and described.

Evidence for these auxiliaries survives from two main periods in the Western Church's history. In the earlier phase (from 500 to 1150, to include all the variants) they occupy three main roles: as missionaries in areas not yet carved up into dioceses (notably the Germany evangelized by Boniface, but also–earlier–Augustine in England, consecrated bishop without a see); as substitutes for bishops absent or otherwise incapacitated; and as stand-ins during the formal vacancy of a bishopric.[109] There are rare hints of a dual succession, of the diocesan bishop proper and an established auxiliary who reigned alongside.[110]

These auxiliaries bear some comparison with the *chorepiscopi* of the early Eastern Church, but those subsidiary bishops became extinct in the 7th century.[111] Apart from rare examples, they were seemingly unknown in the West except through transmitted canonical texts, which explains their appearance in works by Isidore of Seville in 6th-century Spain.[112] Whether their status was properly appreciated in the West is unclear. Isidore refers to them also as *vicarii*

108 R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: 2007), 35–39.

109 Theodor Gottlob, *Der abendländische Chorepiskopat*, Kanonistische Studien und Texte, 1 (Bonn and Köln: 1928; repr. Amsterdam: 1963), 23–101; Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: 1997), 178–79.

110 Gottlob, *Der abendländische Chorepiskopat*, 51 n.3.

111 H. Leclercq, "Chorévêques," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 3/i (Paris: 1913), cols 1423–40. Subsequent history summarized at cols. 1442–51.

112 Raymund Kottje, "Isidor von Sevilla und der Chorepiskopat," *Deutsches Archiv* 28 (1972): 533–7; Leclercq, "Chorévêques," cols. 1442–46. The Irish church may have had *chorepiscopi* of some kind, but the evidence is confused and imprecise. See, e.g., Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 138, 163, 167.

episcoporum, episcopal substitutes, which may reflect a different Western evolution for auxiliaries.[113]

The canonical texts on *chorepiscopi* perhaps became known in the Frankish West from Rome, after the middle of the 8th century, and subsequently fuelled doubts about the auxiliaries' status.[114] In the 9th century, possibly following problems caused by the auxiliaries overstepping the limitations imposed on their authority by local church councils, the older texts were used to attack their position. The old canons were augmented by new forgeries, in the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals*, and the auxiliaries were undermined.[115] The canons and Isidore had placed the auxiliaries in succession to the seventy disciples rather than the twelve apostles, priests rather than bishops.[116] As subsidiaries they were expendable, and their role as episcopal substitutes soon passed to the archdeacons.[117] Nevertheless, while they disappeared from the Western Frankish Church in the 9th century, they survived for a while among the Eastern Franks, and even longer elsewhere. The English tradition of similar assistant bishops was extinguished only after the Norman Conquest.[118] They may have lasted longer in Ireland (the Irish episcopate in general was tarred with the canonical inadequacies of *chorepiscopi* by English prelates into the 12th century, but possibly not reliably).[119]

The second category of auxiliary bishops emerges in the late 13th and 14th centuries, although the need for assistants and substitutes had continued in the intervening period. These new suffragans did have sees, but for various reasons were unable or unwilling to occupy them. Most were in fact *in partibus infidelium* and merely nominal bishoprics, in territories lost to the resurgent Greek Church or overwhelmed by Islam as the crusader states disappeared and Catholicism went into retreat. Whether all of those who claimed to be bishops of these infidel territories really were sometimes had to be taken on trust; that trust might be misplaced. That may explain an odd event in Lichfield diocese in 1375–6. A (new) suffragan bishop performed all of that year's ordinations.

113 Kottje, "Isidor von Sevilla," 534 n.8; Leclercq, "Chorévêques," col. 1426.

114 Ibid., col. 1446; Fuchs, *Ordinationstitel*, 213–14, 223–25.

115 Gottlob, *Der abendländische Chorepiskopat*, 102–35; Fuchs, *Ordinationstitel*, 226–36; Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, "Der „unbeugsame" Exterminator? Isidorus Mercator und der Kampf gegen den Chorepiskopat," in *Scientia veritatis: Festschrift fur Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag* (Ostfildern: 2004), 172–90.

116 Kottje, "Isidor von Sevilla," 534–36.

117 Gottlob, *Der abendländische Chorepiskopat*, 141–43.

118 Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066: a Constitutional History* (London: 1963), 246–47.

119 Flanagan, *Transformation of the Irish Church*, 39–40.

However, his episcopal legitimacy was questioned, casting doubts on the validity of those ordinations. All of the candidates were conditionally re-ordained in the next year to ratify their status.[120]

These suffragans still await proper treatment: their activities are generally obscure and leave limited evidence. Many, maybe most, were friars, or monks, who undertook the more menial but still essential chores of the episcopal power of orders: performing confirmations and ordinations, consecrating and reconciling churches and churchyards, and blessing new ecclesiastical equipment in the parishes. Their income derived from fees for their services, and fixed salaries or income from a benefice. They would generally not be as wealthy as the diocesan for whom they substituted, or travel with as much pomp. Yet, as diocesans became more remote figures, absentees and very much prelates, these suffragans were probably the bishops with whom a diocese's inhabitants had most contact.

2.8 Hierarchy

The clerical ranks recorded in the early medieval sources outline an arrangement which is clearly hierarchical. That hierarchy can be understood in two ways. The more simple was essentially a structure of power and legal relationships, of superiors and inferiors, and therefore a canonical structure of levels of authority. The more complex understanding, arguably yet another outcome of the 12th-century tectonic shift, gave the hierarchy a theological value and validity, a cosmological status, which brought new complexities to the appreciation of priesthood and ordination. The canonical structure would provide the foundation for the administrative church, with the bishop ruling at diocesan level over subordinate priests and their parishes, in a complex array of territorial jurisdictions, ultimately headed by the pope. The theological hierarchy had more fundamental significance and potency, but inherent weaknesses and ambiguities. Seemingly critical to its development was the 12th-century revival of interest in the works of pseudo-Dionysius. These were known in the West in the 8th century, but had little impact. Interest revived in the 12th century, either through direct contact, or mediated through an "Eriugenian

120 Swanson, *Church and Society*, 10; R.A. Wilson (ed.) *The Registers or Act Books of the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, Book 5, being the Second Register of Bishop Robert de Stretton, A.D. 1360–1385: an Abstract of the Contents*, William Salt Archaeological Society, n.s. 8 (London: 1905), 296–308 (original ordinations), 313–14, 318–19, 321–22, 324 (conditional reordinations).

revival."[121] Read as an authentic eye-witness to the 1st-century church, pseudo-Dionysian anachronism fed into the reshaped understandings of the catholic priesthood.

The key works here are the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and the *Celestial Hierarchy*, treated as complementary texts.[122] Their impact is often elusive. Furthermore, the fact that pseudo-Dionysius significantly influenced late-medieval appreciations of priesthood has even been explicitly denied.[123] In fact, the Dionysian hierarchies appear as a pervasive influence on late-medieval views on priesthood and episcopacy, perhaps insufficiently appreciated in the scholarship precisely because they were so pervasive: one commentator has deemed the analysis of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in terms of the celestial sufficiently common by the early 13th century to dub it "une idée banale."[124]

Pseudo-Dionysius' language of perfection, purification, and illumination, contributed to understandings of both the clergy's pastoral role and its status and duties within the Church, with regard to particular ranks or in discussions of triadic divisions among the clergy.[125] Its overt influence on pastoral care is perhaps less obvious than its contribution to ecclesiological analysis; but the two arguably went together. It appears, for instance, in Pierre d'Ailly sermons for diocesan synods when bishop of Cambrai around 1400 and underpinned Jean Gerson's pastoral programme in France at the same period.[126]

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121 Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (eds.) Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Toronto: 1991), 433; David E. Luscombe, "Conceptions of Hierarchy before the Thirteenth Century," in *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständniss des Mittelalters*, (eds.) Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem and Albert Zimmermann, vol. 1, Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 12 (Berlin: 1979), 8.

122 *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is printed in English translation in Colm Luibheid (ed.) *Pseudo-Dionysius: the Complete Works* (New York: 1987), 193–259 (the *Celestial Hierarchy* is at 143–91.) For commentary, Graham Gould, "Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in the Thought of Pseudo-Dionysius," *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989): 29–41; Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: a Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to their Influence* (New York: 1993), Parts II and III.

123 S.C. Parsons, "The 'Hierarch' in the Pseudo-Dionysius and its Place in the History of Christian Priesthood," in *Historica-Theologica-Gnostica-Biblica: Papers of the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 1983*, (ed.) E.A. Livingstone, Studia Patristica 18/I (Kalamazoo, MI: 1985), 189. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago: 1978), 298.

124 For aspects of the trail through to c.1300, see Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius*, 31–36; Congar, "Aspects écclesiologiques," 118.

125 E.g. McDevitt, "Episcopate," 120, 139.

126 Pascoe, *Church and Reform*, 62–65, 68; D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: 1987).

Ideas of hierarchy pervade Gerson's ecclesiological thought in response to the crisis generated by the divided papacy of the Great Schism of 1378 to 1417.[127] Adopting and adapting the Dionysian model, for him the Church had three levels. At the top were the pope and cardinals; in the middle, the ranked remainder of the secular clergy, from patriarchs down to the bishops and priests, who have cure of souls over their subjects. He also squeezed in the somewhat anomalous contemporary suffragan bishops with titles but no actual subjects (*titulares episcopos carentes plebe*). The bottom level comprises the laity and those whom Gerson calls "simple religious," essentially the regulars.[128] This arrangement allowed for papal superiority, but also validated the more fundamental division within the Church between clergy with cure of souls, however exercised, and the laity and regulars. Adopting Dionysian terminology, the bottom layer consisted of those seeking perfection, the *status perfectionis acquirende*, while the upper two gave guidance on its achievement in the *status perfectionis exercende*.[129]

The hierarchy's divinely ordained nature, and its interdependence, means that its ordering cannot be disturbed or fundamentally altered. Gerson therefore defends episcopacy as instituted by Christ, under Peter, and beyond the pope's power to abolish.[130] This divine institution also means that, whatever individual bishops might do, for Gerson it is virtually an article of faith that the order of bishops as a whole cannot err or fall into schism.[131] Somewhat similarly, the parish clergy enjoy a status independent of the bishops, rather than derivative or delegated. They exercise their own ordinary jurisdiction over their subjects like that of the seventy, to whom they are successors.[132]

In its Dionysian sense of infusion and interaction rather than mere rank, hierarchy operates at the terrestrial level to secure spiritual perfection. Gerson bases the power of jurisdiction within the Church on the sacramental power of order, to build the Church as a mystical body through the threefold Dionysian forces. Purification is necessarily sacramental, through baptism and absolution;

127 Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, 17–48; Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 38–46.

128 G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology* (Leiden: 1999), 304 (and 296–97 for comment on regulars).

129 Geneviève Hasenohr, "La Société ecclésiale selon le chancelier Gerson: typologies et vocabulaire," in *Pfaffen und Laien—ein mittelalterlicher Antagonismus? Freiburger Colloquium 1996*, (eds.) Eckart Conrad Lutz and Ernst Tremp, Scrinium Friburgense, Veröffentlichungen des Mediävistischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz, 10 (Freiburg: 1999), 217–18.

130 Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson*, 295.

131 Ibid., 312.

132 Pascoe, *Jean Gerson*, 151; Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 41.

illumination comes through teaching and preaching; perfection, and the completion that comes with it, is secured by the administration of the other sacraments. Insofar as the crucial division within the Church is between those in the *status perfectionis exercende* and those whom they guide in the *status perfectionis acquirende*, this makes those at the point of contact between the two (essentially the diocesan clergy, and particularly the parochial clergy) critical to the whole process, with their ordination absolutely fundamental.[133]

Although sophisticated, analyses like Gerson's were idealistic rather than realistic (as his uncertainty about suffragan bishops hints). The boundaries within the Dionysian active triad, between perfecting and perfected, were not those of the structural ecclesiastical hierarchy. Aquinas had recognized this earlier:[134] some monks and friars were priests and bishops (including titular suffragans), and exercised the cure of souls. Moreover, while pseudo-Dionysian ideas could be used to resist the expansion of papal power within the Church, they also validated it. Bonaventure, for instance, would defend the mendicants' papal privileges on the basis of the pope's status as supreme hierarch within a Dionysian system.[135] Such papalist exploitation of pseudo-Dionysian hierarchy particularly marked the *Summa de ecclesia* of cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata (written in 1449). For him, responding to the challenges of contemporary conciliarism, the pope was the apex and fount from whom all lesser hierarchs received their powers.[136]

The rise and consolidation of papal monarchy after 1215 changed relationships within the Church. The pope was effectively redefined as the supreme hierarch. For priests and bishops this created a new chain of dependence. Bishops were allowed a share in the papal *pars solicitudinis* (duty of care), but not in the papal fullness of power:[137] they no longer possessed an autonomous

133 This interface is more fully analysed in Brown, *Pastor and Laity*.

134 Pasquale Porro, "Pseudo Dionysius and Henry of Ghent," in *Die Dionysius-Rezeption im Mittelalter: Internationales Kolloquium in Sofia vom 8. bis 11. April 1999 unter der Schirmherrschaft der Société internationale pour l'étude de la philosophie médiévale*, (eds.) Tzotcho Boiadjiev, Georgi Kapriev, and Andreas Speer, Société internationale pour l'étude de la philosophie médiévale: Rencontres de Philosophie médiévale 9 (Turnhout: 2000), 400.

135 David E. Luscombe, "Thomas Aquinas and Conceptions of Hierarchy in the Thirteenth Century," in *Thomas von Aquin: Werk und Wirkung im Lichte neuerer Forchungen*, (ed.) Albert Zimmermann, Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 19 (Berlin: 1988), 276; Congar, "Aspects écclesiologiques," 108–12.

136 Antony Black, *Monarchy and Community: Political Ideas in the Later Conciliar Controversy, 1430–1450* (Cambridge: 1970), 57–58, 62–63, 102, 162–65, 167–68, 171.

137 Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: the Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: 1984), 45–46, 56–60; Congar, "Aspects écclesiologiques," 93–94.

apostolic jurisdiction. Episcopal collegiality was replaced by episcopal subjection, reflected in papal language which emphasized paternity over bishops rather than fraternity with them.[138] In consequence, the pope (at least for papalists) became the sole legitimate channel of apostolic succession.

By around 1300, theorists could argue that all episcopal jurisdictional authority derived from the papacy.[139] This validated the assertion that the pope could also nominate to all ecclesiastical posts (not just bishoprics): his choice or approbation manifested the divine will.[140] The pope alone had the authority to translate a bishop between sees.[141] The rise of papal power necessarily eroded subsidiary rights, notably rights of episcopal election. The process of bishop-making became a power play, often between king and pope, as rights of election atrophied. Nevertheless, a powerful strand of episcopalist thought survived in the later Middle Ages, merging into conciliarism, asserting the powers and rights of bishops against both kings and bishops and, to some extent, continuing earlier stances of episcopal autonomy and equality. However, the opposing forces would prove more powerful.[142]

Bishops' subjection to papal oversight implicitly also put priests in the grasp of papal power; logically so if their status derived from the bishop's intermediate authority. Taken together, such developments consolidated the pope's position as "universal ordinary" within the Church–effectively the only "real" or "complete" bishop, and, to some extent, the only "real" or "complete" priest.[143]

The emphasis on papal supremacy, with the pope as supreme priest and others exercising a delegated authority, is summarized in the *Fasciculus morum*, produced in early 14th-century England.[144] The author lists the priests empowered to grant absolution, beginning with:

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138 Megan McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform, 1000–1122* (Cambridge: 2010), 212–14.

139 Congar, "Aspects écclesiologiques," 97.

140 Diana Wood, *Clement VI: the Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge: 1989), 101–02.

141 Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 77–78, 85–100, 114.

142 M.J. Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages: The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (Cambridge: 1963), 331–54.

143 Congar, "Aspects écclesiologiques," 77, 97–98, 105; Wilks, *Problem of Sovereignty*, 383–85.

144 Edited and translated into English by Siegfried Wenzel, *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park, PA: 1989). For dating and subsequent history, 22–23; Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons. "Fasciculus morum" and its Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, MA: 1978), 26–34.

> the pope himself, who is the head of all the Churches. Second [those who act] by delegation from a higher authority, such as the bishop by delegation from the pope, the rectors, vicars, and so on, and above all special penitentiaries by delegation from their superior, such as the pope and the bishops.

Last on the list are mendicant friars, acting under episcopal licences granted in accordance with the papal bull, *Super cathedram*.[145] This entailed a significant change in understanding of the place of episcopacy and priesthood within the Church, and so of how priests and bishops fitted both theologically and jurisdictionally into the ecclesiastical structure.

2.9 Conclusion

The tectonic shift of the long 12th century brought fundamental changes in the way that episcopacy and priesthood were defined and described within the Western church, to clarify the status and role of bishops and priests both for themselves and for the laity to whom they offered the hope of salvation. Collective amnesia soon obscured the extent of the transformation as the new (but soon engrained and traditional) understanding of priestly ordination and episcopal authority congealed into a system and theology of "orders," which had supposedly existed since apostolic times and became a spinal feature of late medieval catholicism. In particular, the sacramental priesthood, imbued with the character infused by ordination, became foundational for the whole sacramental system and for the whole hierarchical order.

For the later medieval church, it was indeed the case that "The sacrament of holy orders … was basic to the other sacraments, which were, as a rule, dependent on it for their valid administration. The validity or invalidity of ordination, consequently, had implications for the grace of every sacrament,"[146] with obvious ramifications for the whole system. Unsurprisingly, at the Reformation, Martin Luther's early Catholic opponents appealed to the Dionysian understanding of orders to refute his arguments for change. For them, "the source of sacramental grace … the source of all the other sacraments, was … the sacrament of ordination, even as the source of all Luther's errors was his denial of the sacrament of ordination. The benefits of Christ's sacrifice could not be conveyed through the Mass, nor the benefits of the Mass through the other

145 Wenzel, *Fasciculus morum*, 466–69.

146 Pelikan, *Christian Tradition*, vol. 3, 212.

sacraments, without an ordained priesthood"—a priesthood "ordained" in accordance with the doctrine established in the 12th century.[147] The rejection of the sacramental system and the power of order also meant a rejection of the Dionysian tradition for the Church and its hierarchy.[148]

The Reformation aimed to take the Church back to biblical roots. It necessarily sought to undo the transformation introduced by the tectonic shift. Priesthood was reshaped as ministry, in some cases eradicating episcopacy by making such super-priests theologically redundant. Ordination was demoted from the sacraments, but even as it disappeared, a new version was invented through an emphasis on preaching which made "the sacrament of ordination … nothing else than a certain rite by which the Church chooses its preachers;"[149] and through the interpretation of baptism as admission to the priesthood of all believers, perhaps a kind of general ordination.[150] While catholicism, now Roman Catholicism, upheld the tradition which had shaped the Church since the 12th century, Protestantism basically revived the approach to "orders" and ministry which had preceded the invention of "ordination": "a priest in Christendom is nothing more than an officeholder."[151]

147 David V.N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis, MN: 1991), 141–46 (quotation at 146). See also Bagchi, "'Eyn mercklych underscheyd'," 160–62.

148 Karlfried Froehlich, "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century," in *Pseudo-Dionysius* (ed.) Luibheid, 40–46.

149 Abdel Ross Wentz (ed.) *Luther's Works, vol. 36: Word and Sacrament,* II (Philadelphia: 1959), 113; *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesammtausgabe, 6 Band* (Weimar: 1888), 564.

150 R. Emmett McLaughlin, "The Making of the Protestant Pastor: the Theological Foundations of a Clerical Estate," in *Protestant Clergy*, (eds.) Dixon and Schorn-Schütte, 67: "Baptism remained essential … it made all Christians priests."

151 James Atkinson (ed.) *Luther's Works, vol. 44: the Christian Society,* I (Philadelphia: 1966), 129; *Luthers Werke*, vol. 6, 408.

CHAPTER 3

Ordinatio and the Priesthood in the Early Middle Ages and Its Visual Depiction

Roger E. Reynolds

During the Middle Ages bishops and priests shared many of the same duties, obligations, and privileges. Both could celebrate Mass, both could baptize, both acted as administrators of dioceses and parishes, and both had teaching functions. Bishops, however, had three functions limited to them alone: consecration of churches, confirmation of baptized persons, and ordination of clerics. The terms *consecratio*, *chrismatio*, and *ordinatio* were frequently interchanged in early medieval documents, but this chapter is concerned with *ordinatio* as applied to clerical ordination by bishops.

3.1 Textual Sources

Libelli

Because ordination was an episcopal privilege, one that was occasional, and one that involved a relatively short amount of time, the earliest ordination texts were almost certainly kept apart from other liturgical books within *libelli* or gatherings of folios. This would be the case not only for the prayer texts of ordination but also for the directions.

Prayer Libelli

The earliest "sacramentary," the *Sacramentarium Veronense* was actually a collection of earlier texts from *libelli* arranged according to a monthly cycle of liturgical feasts.[1] And one of the components of this sacramentary is a group of ordination prayers. They are now neatly embedded into other texts, but their existence in independent *libelli* in the Roman church is almost certain because in later sacramentaries, including the *Gregorian Sacramentary* of Pope

1 Leo Cunivert Mohlberg, et al. (eds.) *Sacramentarium Veronense : Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron.* LXXXV [*80*], Spicilegium Friburgense, 16 (Rome: 1956).

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Hadrian, they are "pasted" on to the beginning of the Sacramentary together with the Canon of the Mass.[2]

Libelli with Ordination Directions

The earliest evidence for collections with these directions comes in two forms. First, there is the canonical collection called the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, written *c*. 475 probably by Gennadius of Marseilles on the basis of earlier canonistic and liturgical materials.[3] Directions for the Gallican rite of ordination are gathered together in one part of the small collection and describe the ordination of the bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, doorkeeper, psalmist, virgin, and widow. That these directions were thought of as a separable *libellus* from the remainder of the canons in the collection is clear in that they have their own rubric and there were in the Middle Ages several traditions of the *Statuta* presenting the ordination directions as a whole in various positions in the text. The second piece of evidence for *libelli* with ordination directions comes in the *Ordines Romani*.[4] The *ordines* that described ordination, particularly *Ordines* XXXIV–XXXVI, are often found in manuscripts floating independently among other materials, suggesting that they had an independence of their own before being incorporated into the proto-pontificals and pontificals of the late 8th century and beyond.

Sacramentaries

These books contained primarily Eucharist prayers, but because they were sacramentaries they could also contain prayers for other sacraments, including ordination. Hence, in the earliest sacramentaries of all the rites there are ordination prayers. Often, not only the prayers themselves would be incorporated into the sacramentaries, but also ceremonial directions for the conferral of orders.

Lectionaries and Antiphonalia

Because the orders were usually conferred within the context of the Mass, the other books of the Mass contained appropriate texts for ordination. Hence, the special readings for ordination were included in the lectionaries and the musical sections were kept in the *antiphonalia*.

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2 Jean Deshusses (ed.) *Le sacramentaire grégorien: ses principales formes d'près les plus anciens manuscrits*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 16 (Fribourg: 1971).

3 Charles Munier, *Les Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua; édition, études critiques*, Bibliothéque de l'Institut de Droit Canonique de l'Université de Strasbourg, 5 (Paris: 1960).

4 Michel Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani" du haut moyen âge*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. fasc. 11, 23, 24, 28, 29 (Louvain: 1931–1961).

Allocution Libelli

Closely related to the *libelli* earlier described and to the lectionaries were groups of texts used in the exhortations, admonitions, and allocutions to the ordinands in the first part of the ordination ceremonies. These texts could be in a variety of forms, and there is little rhyme or reason to their groupings in medieval manuscripts. They are often in the form of florilegia. Among the texts included to be read to the ordinand were snippets from Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*[5] and *Origines*,[6] the Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*,[7] the Pseudo-Isidorian *De officiis septem graduum*,[8] and *Epistula ad Leudefredum*,[9] the Pseudo-Alcuinian *Liber de divinis officiis*,[10] the Ordinals of Christ[11] and a variety of sermons, including *Sermo II* attributed to Ivo of Chartres.[12]

Pontificals

All of the above texts were gathered together into one volume variously called *ordines, ritualia,* and the like, but because the ordination ceremony was reserved to the bishop or pontiff, they came to be known by the 13th century as pontificals. The pontificals generally did not contain complete lections or music for ordination Masses since these parts were performed by other clerics but they did have canon law material relating to ordination, ceremonial directions, and prayers and benedictions. By the time pontificals came into existence, the Gallican rite had been submerged into other rites but there are clearly other families of pontificals in the Middle Ages: the Old Spanish found in the *Liber*

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5 Eddy Gouder, Paul Tombeur, and Roel vander Plaetse (eds.) *Isidorus Episcopus Hispalensis: De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Instrumenta lexicologica Latina, Series B, fasc. 51 (Turnhout: 1989). English translation inThomas L. Knoebel, trans., *Isidore of Seville: De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, Ancient Christian Writers, 61 (New York: 2008).

6 W.M. Lindsay (ed.) *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarvm sive originvm libri* XX, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1911). English translation in Stephen A. Barney, trans., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006).

7 Athanasius Walter Kalff (ed.) *Ps. - Heironymi, De septem ordinibus ecclesiae* (Würzburg: 1935).

8 Roger E. Reynolds, "The *De officiis vii graduum:* its Origins and Early Medieval Development," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972): 113–51.

9 Roger E. Reynolds, "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum:* An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties," *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979): 252–330.

10 PL 101, 1173–1286.

11 Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7 (Berlin–New York: 1978; repr. 2013).

12 PL 162, 505–610.

ordinum;[13] the Insular found in Anglo-Saxon pontificals from the Egbert Pontifical[14] down to the 12th century when Anglo-Norman forms were combined; and the Roman pontificals. These last pontificals were widely diffused from the 10th century on, and include the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* (a hybrid pontifical containing both Gallican and Roman ordination rites); the *Pontificale Romanum XII saeculi* (an offshoot of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* developed during the Gregorian Reform period), the *Pontificale Romanae Curiae* (a further refinement of the *Pontificale Romanum XII saeculi* compiled at the time of Pope Innocent III), and the *Pontifical Guilelmi Durandi* (a magnificent true pontifical compiled by Guillaume Durand on the basis of earlier Roman pontificals and local, especially Gallican ordination practices he knew).[15] It was basically this modified Roman rite of ordination that was used in the Roman Church down to 1972.

Liturgical Commentaries

From at least the 3rd century, liturgical treatises often described the ceremony of ordination. Not only did they contain the texts already described but also they presented the rationale behind the ceremonies of ordination.[16]

3.2 Systems of Clerical Orders

In the Western Church of the Middle Ages there were three or perhaps four systems of clerical orders represented in the texts of ordination ceremonies. In each system there was considerable variation regarding the exact number and names of the grades, and there was contamination from one system or rite to another, but the basic configurations are fairly clear.

13 Marius Férotin (ed.) *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans léglise wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle* (Paris: 1904).

14 H.M.J. Banting (ed.) *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals: The Egbert and Sidney Sussex pontifical* (London: 1989).

15 Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen-Age*, 4 vols. (Città del Vaticano: 1938–1941).

16 For a list of these see Roger E. Reynolds, "Guillaume Durand parmi les théologiens médiévaux de la liturgie," in P.-M. Guy (ed.) *Guillaume Durand, Évêque de Mende (v. 1230–1296): Canoniste, liturgiste et homme politique, Actes de la Table Ronde du C.N.R.S., Mende 24–27 mai 1990* (Paris: 1992), 164–68.

Spanish

In the Old Spanish *Liber ordinum* there are ordination rites including tonsure, ordination to the clerical state and to the orders of sacristan, overseer of books and scribes, cutting of the beard, subdeacon, deacon, archdeacon, *primiclericus*, presbyter, archpresbyter, and abbot. There was almost certainly an ordination ceremony for the bishop, but it has been lost. This Old Spanish system of orders in the *Liber ordinum* was maintained into the 11th century when it was replaced by Roman and the Romano-Catalan rites of ordination. Despite this system of clerical orders represented in the ordination rites of the *Liber ordinum*, there were clearly other systems and grades known in Visigothic and Mozarabic Spain. Isidore of Seville in his *De ecclesiaticis officiis* and *Origines* has a list resembling the Gallican and Roman systems, including doorkeeper, exorcist, acolyte, lector, psalmist, cantor, precentor, succentor, subdeacon, custos, deacon, presbyter, chorbishop, bishop, and the higher episcopal dignities. In the Pseudo-Isidorian *Epistula ad Leudefredum* most of these orders appear as well as the archdeacon, *primicerius*, *thesaurarius*, *economus,* and *pater monasterii*. And in the Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus*, probably written in Catalonia or the Roussillon, there was a hierarchy of gravedigger, doorkeeper, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop.

Gallican

The hierarchy of grades in the Gallican rite was early laid out in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. It was probably based on an earlier Roman one and when Roman ordination texts came to northern Europe in the 8th century, it was this Romano-Gallican system that gradually supplanted the hierarchy as reflected in the Roman ordination texts and became the system of orders used in the Roman Church until 1972.

Roman

There has and continues to be debate over the number of orders in the early medieval Roman hierarchy. This is because there are several different texts that support different opinions. A text of Eusebius of Caesarea describing the Roman clergy at the time of the mid-3rd-century Pope Cornelius mentions the male grades found in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, but with the psalmist missing. There are also the Roman interstices texts spelling out the time necessary between jumps from one grade to another and these texts present different traditions.[17] On the other hand there are the early Roman ordination texts themselves in *Ordo Romanus* XXIV, where there are only the grades of acolyte,

17 For the varieties of these see Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, 29–31.

subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop, to which *Ordo* XXXV adds the lector. That there were, however, doorkeepers and exorcists in the Roman hierarchy from the 7th and 8th century and beyond is undoubted since they are mentioned in several documents. But there is a question as to whether or not they were ordained or ordered since there is no early Roman text for them. As the *Ordines Romani* were taken north of the Alps, they were quickly contaminated by the texts of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* and Gallican-rite sacramentaries, and hence by the mid-8th century, the Roman sacramentaries had ordination directions for the Gallican hierarchy of orders. These same Gallican orders were included in the Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary and eventually in the Roman pontificals.

3.3 Components of Ordination Rites

General Instructions

Liturgical commentators and formulae often laid out instructions of a general nature for ordinands to observe. For example, the *Pontificale Guilemli Durandi* stresses that ordinands should be certain their tonsures are well trimmed, clothing fittingly kept and maintained, and the *instrumenta* or symbols to be received in perfect condition.

Time of Ordination

Almost from the beginning of Christian history it was recognized that some days were more appropriate than others for ordination. Especially fitting were Pentecost, the feast of Peter and Paul, and days following fasting. Hence, as the Western Church developed its rules regarding the day of ordination these appropriate days were favored. Because it was felt that ordinands should be prepared for ordination by fasting, the last day of ember days was thought to be especially appropriate and hence in both the Roman and Frankish rites the Saturday of ember days was chosen for ordination.[18] Particularly fitting would be the ember days of Pentecost. For the bishop the ordination rite was split into two days, the examination and pre-consecratory rites on Saturday and the

18 "Days of fasting and abstinence outlined officially by Pope Gregory VII. Ember days include the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays following major seasonal feasts—Ash Wednesday (Lent), Pentecost, 29 September (Michaelmas), and 13 December (Advent)." See Michelle M. Sauer, "Ember days," in Robert E. Bjork (ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 3: C-J (Oxford: 2010), 558–59.

ordination rites proper on Sunday (the day on which the Holy Spirit had descended on the apostles).

Although some of the lower orders, for which there are very general or hazy instructions, may have been given on other days than Saturday or Sunday and at times other than the Mass, ordinations were usually connected with the Mass. Depending on the season and the grade itself, the order might be conferred at different times during the Mass. For example, tonsure could be given after the introit or, in seasons when the *Gloria* was sung, after the *Kyrie*. In the Old Spanish rite the cutting of the beard came at the end of Mass before the *Missa acta est*. For the grades from doorkeeper through bishop, however, the general practice was to begin the ordination rites themselves so that the newly ordained cleric could subsequently exercise his newly given power. For most grades the ordination rite began after the response or alleluia, although for the presbyter it was after the Gospel. In the ordination rites for the presbyter and bishop, the ceremony was carried on throughout the Mass and beyond, even going to the reception of the title church of the new presbyter in Rome. During these extended ceremonies the new ordinands would exercise their new functions. For example, the subdeacon read the Epistle, the deacon the Gospel, and so forth.

Place of Ordination

Because the bishop was the chief consecrator or dispenser of orders, the actual ceremony was performed in one of the chief basilicas of a city, preferably where the bishop had his *cathedra* (although in Rome it was the basilica of St. Peter). The ordination itself took place near the altar. The ordinands could be arranged in rows or circles, and if several grades were to be ordained they might take up different places in the presbytery. The *Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi*, for example, says that when subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters are to be ordained, the subdeacons stand on the north side, the deacons on the south, and the presbyters in the middle. In the case of the bishop, there was a great deal of moving about from the sacristy, where vesting and washing took place, to the presbytery, and in the presbytery from front to back of the altar and to the *cathedra*.

Presentation and Nomination of Ordinands

In almost all initiation ceremonies from baptism to consecration of religious, the candidate was presented to the bishop and people and was named. So in ordination the ordinands were called forth and were involved in a ceremony of reception. Usually it was the archdeacon who called on the ordinands to present themselves. Sometimes, as in the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, the individuals are named and the Church from which they come is specified. In

the ordination of a bishop the clerics of his own church presented him to his consecrators, and the bishop-to-be presented his "decretum" from his electors.

Examination and Oath of Ordinands

The *Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi* lays down the general rule that all ordinands should have been examined and approved before ordination. And in the ordination rite itself the examination, which may have begun sometime before the ceremony, was continued, sometimes in a very cursory way, sometimes at length depending on the order itself. For the lower grades there seems to have been some chance for the people to object to an unfit candidate. In the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, for example, the bishop speaks on the life and morals of the lector-to-be, and presumably the assembled people could have objected. The people's role in the examination was far more obvious for the higher grades. In the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* the people are asked specifically if they have objections to the candidates for subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter. For the higher or sacred orders there was an oral examination. For example, all the orders from subdeacon and up were asked about and were required to swear that they had not been guilty of the four capital crimes of sodomy, bestiality, adultery, and violation of nuns. The bishop especially was examined at length as to his prior ordinations (particularly to the presbyterate), his election, morals, the books necessary for his church, his knowledge of the canons, and doctrine and the like. Either in the examination itself or toward the end of the Mass an oath of obedience and reverence was taken by a presbyter to his bishop or by a bishop to his metropolitan.

Prayers and Benedictions

The heart of the ordination ceremonies was in the prayers and benedictions, and in the liturgical books these take up the majority of space. The prayers may be called *praefationes*, *orationes*, and *benedictiones*, and they are said not only over the ordinands but also over the instruments to be given to them. In content they usually call down a blessing on a person or thing, referring often to the Old Testament, and occasionally to the New. Sometimes, the prayers may be very general, even banal. In the ordination rites, the number of prayers and blessings varies considerably from order to order, ranging from as few as one to as many as thirty for some of the higher orders.

Musical Portions of Ordinations

Inserted into the ordination prayers and ceremonies was a variety of antiphons. Sometimes these seem to have been used to fill in time as certain ceremonies were taking place. For example, there was in the Old Spanish rite an

antiphon during tonsure and cutting of the beard, and, in the *Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi,* the responsory *Iam non dicam* was sung while many presbyters were being ordained. But there could also be musical pieces specifically appropriate to the ordination itself, not time fillers; for example, the *Veni sancte spiritus* or *Veni creator spiritus* after the alleluia in the ordination of a presbyter or the *Te Deum* at the conclusion of the ordination Mass of the bishop.

Allocutions and Admonitions

From the 5th century it seems common to have given allocutions and admonitions during the ordination rites. These were directed both to the ordinand himself and to the people. They could range in length from one sentence to several paragraphs, again depending on the order itself. Some of these admonitions were given to the ordinand as he received his instruments or symbols, but there were other admonitions and allocutions given at other times, especially at the beginning of the ceremonies. These allocutions usually were florilegia of texts chosen by the bishop and delivered seated, with miter on. The texts, often pseudonymous, generally dealt with the origins of the order, the duties of the cleric, and his morality and life.

Traditio of Instruments

Next to the prayers, the tradition or porrection of instruments or symbols to the ordinand by the bishop or archdeacon was the most important component of the ordination rites, and many theologians argued that the *traditio instrumentorum* was the essential part or matter of the rite. The instruments given were the books, utensils, and vestments used in the liturgical performance of the cleric's duties. Hence, the psalmist received an antiphonary. The cleric in the Old Spanish rite was given a tunic and alb; the sacristan a key ring as chief doorkeeper; and the overseer of books and scribes a key to the *scrinium* (a chest or bookcase). The doorkeeper received keys from the archdeacon, and on "receiving" a bell rope from the archdeacon, rang the Church bell. The lector was given a lectionary by the bishop, and the *Pontificale Romanae Curiae* specifies that it is a book of the prophetic lessons. The exorcist was given a *libellus* of exorcisms, which might be in the form of a *rotulus*. The acolyte received from the archdeacon a candlestick with candle and an empty *urceolum* (a small pitcher or water-pot). *Ordo Romanus* XXXIV states that the acolyte received a linen bag from the bishop, in which he would carry the Sancta. Over the course of the Middle Ages the number of *instrumenta* received by the subdeacon varied greatly and grew from a few items to as many as nine, signifying the change of his status after the late 11th century from a minor order to sacred or major

order. In the Old Spanish rite the subdeacon received a paten, chalice, and a *codicem Pauli apostoli*. In *Ordo Romanus* XXXIV he received from the bishop or archdeacon a chalice, and in *Ordo Romanus* XXXV a chalice and paten. In the Gallican *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua,* he was given an empty paten and chalice by the bishop and a vessel, basin, and towel by the archdeacon. By the 12th century all of these Gallican symbols were given to the subdeacon together with a maniple and tunic; and by the 13th century an amice and epistolary were also given. In *Ordo Romanus* XXXIV, the deacon received a dalmatic, but his major *instrumenta* were a stole (placed over the left shoulder) and a Gospel book. The archdeacon in the Old Spanish rite received a rod, as did the *primicerius*. Like the deacon, the presbyter received appropriate vestments, the chasuble and stole (either over the right shoulder or crossed over the breast). As symbols of his liturgical duties he was given a chalice with wine (and sometimes water) and paten with *oblata*. The Old Spanish rite adds a *manuale*. Other *instrumenta* and gifts could also be given, such as a ring (for a cardinal presbyter), gold and silver vessels, wine, fruit, and oil. In the Old Spanish rite, the archpresbyter was given a *liber orationum*. The bishop was vested before the Mass with sandals, dalmatic, and chasuble; during the ordination rite itself Gospels were laid over his neck and shoulder; after his unction he was given a staff, ring, and Gospel book; and after the communion he was presented with a miter and gloves. And finally, if he were an archbishop, an archpresbyter of the Roman Church gave him a *pallium*.

Actions and Gestures during Ordination

During the entire ordination ceremony there was a flurry of activity and each gesture was usually assigned some symbolic significance. Among the various actions and gestures there might be the following. When one entered the clerical state he might be tonsured and shaved of his beard. The Old Spanish rite provides for the waxing of the beard. Before each of the prayers and benedictions, the deacon would call out *Flectamus genua*, and there would be a genuflexion. In the Roman tradition, it was generally the practice to kneel when receiving the *instrumenta*, although in some cases standing was the preference. Kneeling, especially by the pope on his faldstool, might also be done during the litany. Other ordinands prostrated themselves on a carpet during the singing of the litany and several grades prostrated themselves before kissing his feet. Several types of kisses might be given, from a simple exchange of peace before, during, and after the ordination of a bishop or other clerics to a kissing of the hands or feet of the consecrator as a sign of respect. Before ordination to the higher orders, one took off some of his vestments, which were then replaced during the ceremony. Also there was a constant putting on and

off of the miter by the bishop. For prayers, the hands could be held in the orantes position or folded on the breast. There was multiple laying-on of hands for the higher orders. This might be done by the bishop alone, by bishops and presbyters, and by metropolitans and other bishops. There could also be a second laying-on of hands over presbyters to signify a reception of the power of the keys. Several types of unction were used in ordination ceremonies, depending upon the order. The hands of deacons, presbyters and the bishop were anointed, the thumb of presbyters and bishops, and the head of bishops. Especially in connection with unction there could be several washings and dryings, first of the excess from the ordinand and second of the hands of the consecrator. Finally, there was the crowning conclusion of an episcopal consecration, the enthronement.

Presentation of Offerings

This was a minor but highly significant part of the Roman ordination rite for the higher orders in which the subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter presented their oblations to the bishop.

Final Credo

A final component of the ordination rites is found in the presbyteral ordination in the *Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi*. After communion the Creed was said by the presbyter, perhaps thereby showing his competence to exercise the keys given to him in the second laying-on of hands.

3.4 Early Medieval Depictions of Clerical Ordinations

Anyone who has paged through a few of the hundreds of later medieval pontifical manuscripts scattered throughout European libraries is familiar with a series of scenes usually described as rites of clerical ordination. Sometimes these scenes represent the ordination of only a few grades of clerics, but as often as not there may be as many as three cycles of illustrations for as many as nine or ten of the grades. One of these cycles may show only a symbol for each order: large scissors for the tonsured cleric, keys for the doorkeeper, a codex of readings for the lector, a sprinkler or book of exorcisms for the exorcist, a candle and candlestick for the acolyte, a maniple for the subdeacon, a stole for the deacon, and a chasuble for the presbyter or priest. Another cycle will capture a brief moment in the midst of the ordination ceremonies themselves, including perhaps the bishop's tonsuring of a small cleric; like the first cycle, it will refer to the other clerics only through the tradition of various instruments or symbols.

Finally, there may be a third cycle placed near the admonition or allocution read to each clerical grade. Here there are depictions of the liturgical duty of the ordinand. The doorkeeper, for example, is shown opening the door of the Church, the lector is pictured at his lectern, and so forth.

In light of the abundance of such scenes in high and later medieval pontificals, historians of liturgy, art, and iconography have often expressed no little surprise that similar illustrations are almost non-existent in surviving manuscripts from the early Middle Ages, since (1) there were ordinations in the early medieval period; (2) the grades of clerics were virtually the same in the early and later Middle Ages; and (3) liturgical books of many types were sumptuously illustrated with such ceremonies as the Mass and baptism. Why, then, are scenes depicting clerical ordination so rare in the early medieval period? Here several reasons are suggested for the paucity of such illustrations, examining some of the few early medieval examples to see how they depict the rite itself in relation to the manuscripts in which they are found, and considering their relationship to the variety of ordination texts available in the early Middle Ages.

Before turning to the illustrations themselves, two general points must be made about what might be called the vehicles that bear the texts of the liturgy of ordination. First, despite many a modern inventory or catalogue description of early medieval manuscripts with ordination texts as pontificals, there is in reality only a handful of true pontificals before the 11th and 12th centuries. Rather, most books styled as pontificals are actually sacramentaries, rituals, and benedictionals, all of which are polyvalent in use. That is, the rites they contain are for the *sacerdotes,* the presbyters, and pontiffs or bishops, and not simply for bishops alone.

The second general point is that the ordination texts themselves in most Western rites were probably in the first instance kept not in larger codices, but in *libelli* of only a few folios or quaternions. For the Roman rite, the earliest ordination ceremonies seem to have been kept in two separate types of these little books. The rubrics or stage directions for the drama of ordination were in the brief *Ordines Romani,* and described in fairly laconic fashion the ceremonies for the ordination of only five grades, two lower grades (acolyte and subdeacon), and three higher grades (deacon, presbyter and bishop). The Roman ordination prayers, on the other hand, were kept in *libelli* that were eventually incorporated into such sacramentaries as the celebrated *Leonine Sacramentary*. These prayers were only for the clerics of the higher orders (bishop, presbyter, and deacon). For the Gallican rite of ordination, the situation was much the same as the Roman. The ceremonial description was contained in a small canon law book which Amalarius called a "certain *libellus,*" but which we now

label the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* of the 5th century.[19] This little text contained not only the ordination ceremonies but also a creedal statement for the bishop and a list of canon law regulations. The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua,* which was incorporated into untold thousands of canon law and liturgical books down to our own century, extended the hierarchy of orders considerably beyond that in the *Ordines Romani,* including ordination rubrics for the bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, doorkeeper, and psalmist. The ordination prayers of the Gallican rite for most of these orders were kept in another *libellus* that was eventually incorporated into such Gallican sacramentaries as the famous *Missale Francorum.*

The important point to remember about these earliest ordination rites of the Western church is that they were kept in small *libelli,* and as such were not really vehicles for the sumptuous illustrations we associate with evangeliaries and evangelistaries. Rather, these ordination *libelli* were occasional pieces with a few prayers or stark ceremonial directions that called for little or no decoration. They may be compared to early medieval canon law manuscripts in their paucity of illustration. In fact, it is in canon law manuscripts that many of the early medieval ordination texts are still found.

By the 8th and early 9th centuries at least, the ordination texts of the ceremonial *libelli* and the prayer *libelli* were being integrated into a single, flowing text of ordination that could easily be followed by a consecrating bishop without turning from one *libellus* to another. This integration is, in a sense, very much like that in the missals, which combined Mass prayers from sacramentaries, lessons from *epistolaria,* and Gospel books, and chants from *antiphonalia* into a single, handier list. But unlike the missals, which had Mass texts for large parts of the liturgical year and hence filled more extensive codices, the ordination texts seem to have retained, as it were, a separate status. Either they were kept apart in *libelli* or, if they were incorporated into larger codices, they were often joined with such unlikely neighbors as the Mass sets of the sacramentaries.

Because these sacramentaries had become, by the late 8th century, vehicles for lavish illustration, witness the *Gellone Sacramentary* and the Reginensis manuscript of the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, the attached *libelli* of ordination texts also became potential vehicles for illumination, especially when they were made for an ecclesiastical patron of the arts. Although most of the ordination texts in the sacramentaries from the late 8th century on have only decorated initials (if they are adorned at all), an occasional depiction of clerical ordination does appear. Perhaps the best known example is in the well-known

19 *Liber officialis* 2.12.9; J.M. Hanssens (ed.) *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica Omnia*, II, Studi e Testi, I.39 (Vatican: 1948), 224.

Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary from Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 19 (19bis), made for Raganaldus of Marmoutier about 845 (Figure 3.1).[20]

It is appropriate to make several observations on the illumination, particularly as it relates to the textual material with which it is found and to its possible antecedents.

First, the text of the ordination ceremony that follows this illumination is contained in two small *libelli* as it were, here joined to form the beginning of this famous sacramentary. Folios 2r–4v of the manuscript contain the ordination rite for the lower grades of doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, and subdeacon, following a Gallican or Frankish text, and folios 12r–14v have the ordination text for bishop, presbyter and deacon, using a Roman text.

Our illustration can be styled as a formal, posed portrait of the clerical hierarchy. It is not, however, a clerical portrait in the manner of the celebrated representations found in the *Exultet* rolls[21] or the Mozarabic canon law manuscripts, El Escorial d. l. l and d. l. 2.[22] Our illustration depicts the clergy with specific reference to rites of ordination. In the lower register, we have what Kurt Weitzmann might call an "epitomized cycle," illustrating the immediately following ordination text for the lower clerics.[23] Rather than a progression of scenes depicting moments during the ordination ceremonies (such as those in the later medieval pontificals), one sees the object given to each clerical grade used as an epitomization of the moment of the *traditio instrumentorum* in the ordination ceremony. One wonders if these symbols might have been gathered from lost exemplars, in which the individual cleric with his symbol was shown beside the text of his particular ordination ceremony. Such a suggestion finds support on the folio opposite ours, fol. 2r, where a small doorkeeper with large keys stands inside the "O" of *Ostiarius* (Figure 3.2).

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20 Joseph Décréaux, "Le Sacramentaire de Marmoutier conservé à la Bibliothèque Municipale d'Autun," *Extrait des Mémoires de la Société Eduenne* 51 (1970), 243; and his two-volume study and edition of the manuscript, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier* (*Autun 19 bis*) *dans l'histoire des sacramentaires carolingiens du* IXe *siècle* (Rome: 1985).

21 On these see Roger E. Reynolds, "Les cérémonies liturgiques de la cathédrale de Bénévent," in T.F. Kelly (ed.) *La cathédrale de Bénévent* Esthétiques et rituels des cathédrales d'Europe 1 (Ghent: 1999), 167–205 + 15 plates.

22 On these see Roger E. Reynolds, "The Civitas Regia Toletana before the Reconquista: A Mozarabic Vision in the Codices Vigilanus and Aemilianensis," in R. Gonzálvez-Ruíz (ed.) *Estudios sobre Alfonso* VI *y la Reconquista de Toledo: Actas del* II. *Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes:Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes,* 3 (Toledo: 1989), 153–184 + 14 figures.

23 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origins and Method of Text Illustration*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: 1970), 23.



FIGURE 3.1 Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary; *Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 19bis, c. 845.*



FIGURE 3.2
Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary; *Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 19bis, c. 845.*

Moreover, one wonders if there could have been an earlier model for our two-register illustration, in which the present upper register would have preceded the Roman texts of ordination for bishop, presbyter, and deacon in the manuscript, and the lower register would have preceded the Gallican texts for the ordination of doorkeeper through subdeacon. In any event, the scene as we have it today epitomizing the *traditio instrumentorum* is in a sense the distant forerunner of those later medieval pontifical illustrations depicting the clerics' symbols alone.

A nearly contemporary mid-9th-century manuscript of the Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary has a depiction of clerical ordination in a different medium and of a completely different type. The scene is found in the upper left-hand panel of the ivory front cover of the *Drogo Sacramentary*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Lat. 9428, with other panels showing rites of initiation such as baptism, the dedication of churches, and so forth (Figure 3.3).

Recently it has been shown that the Mass scenes on the ivory back cover refer not to the Mass text in the sacramentary, but to contemporary Frankified or Gallicanized *Ordines Romani* with directions for how the Mass ought to be performed.[24] Likewise, the scene on the front cover refers not to the actual ordination texts in the "*libellus*" of the first nine folios of the manuscript, but to

24 Roger E. Reynolds, "Image and Text: A Carolingian Illustration of Modifications in the Early Roman Eucharistic Ordines," *Viator* 14 (1983): 59–82 + 11 figures.



FIGURE 3.3
Drogo Sacramentary; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Lat. 9428, c. 850.*

some external directory. At the left of the scene a bishop reads from an ordination *libellus* (held by an assistant) while laying hands on several deacons. Such a ceremony is not mentioned in the text of the *Drogo Sacramentary,* but is in the Gallican *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua.* On the right, several subdeacons await their ordination and one of them carries a stole in his hand. Again, the text behind this scene is not found in the text of the sacramentary itself, but in the Roman *Ordo Romanus* XXXIV*,* where it is directed that a subdeacon wishing to be ordained as a deacon is to approach the bishop with *orarium* or stole in hand. In short, the significance of our scene is two-fold. First, a single scene represents a whole cycle of Romano-Gallican ordination texts found in the *Drogo Sacramentary* itself. Second, the illustration does not derive from the text of that sacramentary, but from an external Romano-Gallican directory used as a guide to the correct performance of the rite.

A phenomenon similar to that in the Drogo panel (i.e., a monoscenic portrayal referring to an extraneous text) can be found in yet another Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary written a century and a half later. In the lavishly illustrated Sacramentary of Warmund, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 86, dating to about the year 1000, there are in the first few folios several illustrated texts "pasted on," as it were, to the Mass texts proper. The first is the early German coronation *Ordo 24* and contains an illustration of the coronation of a king. The second is an ordination text with a single illustration of what is always described as the consecration of a bishop (Figure 3.4).

In this scene, an episcopal figure blesses a second figure with a gesture that Felix Vongrey has compared to one found in the consecration of Ambrose on



FIGURE 3.4
Sacramentary of Warmund; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 86, c. 1000.

the 9th-century golden altar frontal of Milan.[25] The ordinand in the *Warmund Sacramentary* is bowing and has an open Gospel book over his shoulders that Vongrey compares to the 9th-century Byzantine depictions in Paris Bibl. Nat. grec. 510, fols. 67v and 452r, showing the consecration of Gregory Nazianzus, who has an open Gospel book held above his head (Figure 3.5).

Whether or not these comparisons are appropriate, our illustration in the *Warmund Sacramentary* clearly refers not so much to the ordination texts within the sacramentary as to another text or texts. The clue is in the open position of the Gospel book. In the ancient Gallican *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua,* it was directed that the Gospels were to be held over the candidate's head, as was the case in the Byzantine example. In the late 10th-century *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* (which we will come to momentarily), it is directed that the Gospels are to be held over the neck of the candidate, then closed and placed between his shoulders. But in an early 10th-century Gallicanized *ordo, Ordo Romanus* XXXV, now found in the Besançon manuscript, London, British Library Additional 15222, of about the year 1000, it is specified that when the pope is consecrated, the Gospels are placed open over his shoulders – precisely what we have here. Could the bishop here be the pope? Could he even be Pope Sylvester II, corresponding to the specifically labeled imperial figure of Otto III a few folios later in the manuscript, or what may be the regal figure of Otto III a few folios earlier? Such a suggestion is given additional support by the

25 Herbert Douteil and Felix Vongrey, *Exultet Rolle: vollständige Faksimile Ausgabe in Originalgrösse des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 9820 der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Kommentarband*, Codices selecti 35 (Graz: 1975), 94, n. 183.



FIGURE 3.5
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale grec. 510, 9th c.

rubric for the final consecration prayer, which the normal Gregorian sacramentary text gives as *ad pontificem,* but which has been changed in the *Warmund Sacramentary* to *ad summum pontificem.*

In both the Warmund and Drogo sacramentaries, the consecrating bishop has been seen reading the rite from a book, perhaps a *libellus* held by an assistant, and indeed our illustrations thus far have all been associated with Supplemented Gregorian Sacramentary manuscripts in which the first few folios, *libelli* as it were, contain ordination texts. But an ordination text could be written on a *libellus* of a very different form, as a letter of Hincmar of Rheims to a successor of Drogo at Metz tells us. In describing the consecration of a bishop, Hincmar speaks of the rite being read from a roll or *rotulus consecrationis.* In the Eastern Church such rolls were widely used in the liturgy; but apart from the well-known *Exultet* rolls of south Italy, it has not been widely appreciated that for some of the most solemn ceremonies in her liturgy, the Western church also occasionally used the roll. There is, for example, the Ravenna Rotulus with its text for Advent and the vigil of Christmas. We also know of a *rotulus* with the Canon of the Mass sent by Pope Zachary to Boniface. Moreover, rolls were used for baptism, litanies, the *laudes regiae*, exorcism, and the reconciliation of penitents on Maundy Thursday. Hence, it is no surprise that for ordination, one of the most solemn of the bishop's liturgical functions, rolls were also used.

Unfortunately, none of the earliest ordination *rotuli* survive, and we therefore do not know if they were illustrated. But during the third quarter of the

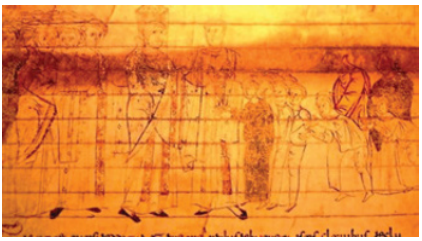


FIGURE 3.6.
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.



FIGURE 3.7
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.

10th century, perhaps slightly before the first "universal" pontifical of the Western church, the *Pontificale Romano Germanicum*, was making its way from Germany into Italy, there was made just such a roll. Sometime after 969 this manuscript, now Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), was written and illustrated for Landulf, a well known episcopal patron of the arts in Benevento. The text is written in the handsome Beneventan script and the twelve scenes contain the most remarkable cycle of ordination illustrations of the Middle Ages.

In the first scene (Figure 3.6), a square-nimbed Landulf stands center stage flanked to his left by an archdeacon holding a roll.

Landulf is both blessing and handing a pair of keys to a small doorkeeper. To the right of these figures two priests steer individual ordinands toward the bishop, holding the bent little fellows, right hand on the top of the head and left hand beneath the chin, to keep them, presumably, from escaping.

In the second scene (Figure 3.7), Landulf is still center stage, reading an ordination prayer written on a *rotulus* held by the archdeacon, and held not vertically, as the Landulf roll itself would have been held, but horizontally as a scroll. Prostrate at Landulf's feet is a group of doorkeepers, who have been brought for his benediction by the group of presbyters on our right.

The third scene (Figure 3.8) depicts Landulf (assisted by the archdeacon) giving the doorkeepers a codex of lessons, thereby ordering them lectors.

They then prostrate themselves (Figure 3.9) before Landulf to receive the blessing that the Beneventan liturgical rubric styles as the *sonum orationis.*



FIGURE 3.8
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.



FIGURE 3.9
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.



FIGURE 3.10
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.

Having shown two instances of the prostration of clerics for benediction, the illustrator is now relieved of depicting further such scenes by a text saying that, during the benediction, the same position is to be assumed by the other grades.

In the fifth scene (Figure 3.10), Landulf is shown handing to a group of exorcists a roll of exorcisms, which the rubric calls not a *rotulus* but a *libellus*.

After the benediction of exorcists (not illustrated), the roll pictures the ordination of the acolytes (Figure 3.11).

Here Landulf presents to the acolytes a candlestick (called a *cereostatum* in Beneventan style), a candle and an empty vessel. The seventh illustration (Figure 3.12) is divided into two scenes.



FIGURE 3.11
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.



FIGURE 3.12
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.



FIGURE 3.13
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.

On the left, Landulf presents to the subdeacons a large, empty, lobed paten and a chalice. On the right, the archdeacon gives to one group of subdeacons a pitcher and to the other a basin. Two scenes also meet us in the eighth illustration (Figure 3.13).

On the left, it appears at first glance that Landulf has placed a stole or *orarium* on the right shoulder of a deacon, but close inspection indicates that Landulf has been caught in mid-action, about to place the stole correctly, as the rubric tells us, on the deacon's left shoulder. As Landulf



FIGURE 3.14
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.



FIGURE 3.15
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.

presents the stole, a group of subdeacons in dalmatics await their turn, and one carries his *orarium* in a fashion reminiscent of our Drogo subdeacon (Figure 3.3). In the right-hand scene, Landulf consecrates the deacons while a presbyter behind them holds his hands over the bowed heads of the ordinands.

In the ninth scene (Figure 3.14), the deacons with stoles are presented by presbyters to Landulf. As they prostrate themselves at his feet, he will say the allocution to the people, *Sit nobis fratres*.

After another prayer, Landulf places around the neck of the new presbyter what the Beneventan text calls an *orarium* and what the intruded Carolingian minuscule text calls a stole (Figure 3.15). Other candidates holding stoles await their turn.

Landulf then dresses the new presbyter in a *planeta* or chasuble while the other candidates stand by expectantly holding their chasubles (Figure 3.16).

The final scene in the roll (Figure 3.17) was treated many years ago in Gerald Ellard's book, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 AD.*[26]

26 Gerald Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D.*, Medieval Academy Publication No. 16 (Cambridge, MA: 1933).



FIGURE 3.16
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.



FIGURE 3.17
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B I 13), c. 970.

Here Landulf anoints the right hand of the new presbyter with his large extended right thumb. Behind Landulf stands an archdeacon with his *rolutus*, presumably containing the ordination rite.

Many years ago Myrtilla Avery, who had earlier published these illustrations in her *Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, analyzed them in relation to changes in the ordination rite in 10th-century Rome.[27] Despite some flaws, that study, with its extensive comparative charts, was and remains a remarkable piece of scholarship. It is unnecessary to rehearse again the valuable points made there, but since our scenes relate to other early medieval illustrations of ordination and to more recent editions and studies of ordination texts and codices, several additional observations deserve to be made.

The first point, one introduced by Avery but not fully developed, is that the scenes discussed here, like those in contemporary *Exultet* rolls, represent what G.B. Ladner has described as popular, spontaneous observation of actual liturgical practice.[28] The rubrics above each of the scenes are

27 Myrtilla Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, NJ: 1976), esp. 27, n. 183.

28 G.B. Ladner, review of G. Cavallo, *Rotuli de Exultet della Italia Meridionale: Exultet 1,2* (Bari, 1973) in *Speculum* 51 (1976), 721.

extraordinary, often unique among ordination texts, suggesting that they follow the ceremony actually used by Landulf. For us it is important to note that the illuminator reproduces these extraordinary texts with great precision. In the first scene, for example, the unusual direction that the presbyters lead the little doorkeepers with hands over their heads and beneath their chins is faithfully reproduced. In the benediction of the deacon the unusual specification that a presbyter holds his hands over the heads of the deacons is carefully depicted. And in the last scene the unique directive that only the right hand of the presbyteral ordinand be consecrated by the right thumb of the bishop is rendered with astonishing accuracy. The only minor lapse of the illustrator, it seems, is his failure to portray, as the rubrics direct, the archdeacon presenting a towel to the subdeacons. Perhaps, however, this lapse is owing to the confusion, just beginning to appear in the 10th century, over the towel and/or maniple which the subdeacon was to receive at ordination. Such a minor lapse may actually strengthen the contention that, unlike the illustrators of the Drogo and Warmund sacramentaries, who pictured texts external to their sacramentaries, our illustrator here represented as accurately as possible the rubrics of his roll and the ceremony he witnessed in Benevento.

Beyond its obvious importance as a faithful depiction of an actual ordination sequence read from a *rotulus,* the illustrated Landulf roll is significant for what it tells us about ordinations and orders in the 10th century. The first point is that the illustrator, or the mind behind him (probably Landulf himself), understood the prayers to be almost as important in the ordination rite as the *traditio instrumentorum,* and was careful to include depictions of them. In these rare illustrations of the ordination blessings, one almost senses a consciousness of the discussion to come in the high Middle Ages regarding the matter and form of the sacrament of orders.

A second significant feature is the number and sequence of the grades depicted. With the exception of the bishop, there are ordination scenes for exactly those grades we have met in the Raganaldus and Drogo sacramentaries. Moreover, the lower grades (doorkeeper through subdeacon) are arranged precisely as they were in the older Frankified Gelasian sacramentaries of the 8th century and the Gregorians of the 9th century. The higher orders of deacon and presbyter, however, are arranged exactly as they were in the 8th-century Gelasians and in a few 9th-century Gregorians, but not as they were in the Raganaldus Sacramentary. The number and sequence of grades in the Landulf roll is, therefore, close to that of the nearly contemporary *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*. The only exception is the absence of the psalmist, who may have

been illustrated at the beginning of our damaged roll, but probably was not, because a bishop was not necessarily the consecrator of this lowest grade of the hierarchy.

The third significant feature of the Landulf roll has more to do with the text than with the illustration; it is nonetheless especially important, since it relates to the ordination rites in central and southern Italy in the 10th century. The text reflects as much the Frankish ordination texts of the late 8th and early 9th centuries as it does those of the celebrated *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*. According to the now widely accepted theory of Michel Andrieu, the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* was imposed on Rome (and Italy in general) by the Emperor Otto I beginning in the 950s.[29] One could therefore expect it to be used in the Landulf roll. In fact, it is now known that the Frankish rite partially represented in our roll was being copied in central and southern Italy as early as the 9th century.[30] It was perhaps on the basis of this rite, and not on that of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, that the famous irregular ordinations to the lower grades of Popes Leo VIII and John XIII took place in 963 and 965. From the 11th century on, however, the ordination texts from the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* began to spread into southern Italy, eventually being incorporated even into the text of the Landulf roll; there, above the illustrations for the subdiaconal through presbyteral ordinations, a later minuscule hand has entered texts from this first "universal" pontifical.

Long after the Landulf roll was illustrated with its extraordinary cycle of scenes, *rotuli* continued to be used in the ordination rites of the Western Church. This we know from several unadorned late medieval rolls in England and France. By this time, however, the texts for the liturgy of ordination had been transferred almost universally from the early *libelli* and rolls (which were fragile and difficult to preserve), and from the polyvalent sacramentaries, to the pontifical, the book that contained a variety of specifically episcopal ceremonies. In the depictions of ordinations in these high and late medieval pontificals, elements appeared that we have met in the early illustrations, particularly the symbols and the act of ordination itself. Rarely, however, did the later illuminations depict as accurately or as poignantly as did our early examples the liturgy of ordination. Hence, when historians of liturgy, art and

29 Michele Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* (Louvain: 1931), I.511.

30 See Roger E. Reynolds, "The Ritual of Clerical Ordination of the Sacramentarium Gelasianum saec. viii: Early Evidence from Southern Italy," in P. De Clerck and E. Palazzo (eds.) *Rituels: Mélanges offerts au Père Gy O.P.* (Paris: 1990), 437–45.

iconography choose depictions of clerical ordination to illustrate their studies, it is no surprise that they turn not to the somewhat stylized, almost symbolic examples of the high and late medieval pontificals, but instead to the rare and remarkable examples in the sacramentaries and in the Landulf *rotulus* dating to the early Middle Ages.

CHAPTER 4

Priesthood in the Byzantine Empire

Augustine Casiday

The Byzantine ideal for how the Church and the government relate was announced by a Latin-speaking emperor, Justinian: "God's greatest blessing to humans, granted by divine kindness, are the priesthood and the empire [*sacerdotium et imperium*]. Of them, the former serves divine matters and the latter is set over human affairs and cares for them, while both proceed from one and the same source and both adorn human life. Nothing therefore is a greater concern to emperors than the clergy's reputation, who for their part pray to God for them."[1] This common origin in God's kindness, then, is the basis for the "symphony" of church and state that was the aspiration of Eastern Roman emperors and that inspired their Slavic Christian successors, with lingering effects for Christians of Byzantine heritage to this day. In his revision to Roman legal code, Justinian gave sustained attention to "the reputation of the clergy," expecting from them more than just prayers but also support through social activities. Building on Constantine's and Theodosius' initiatives, Justinian secured the Church as a public institution within the empire–one in which the emperor himself had a unique role with a sacred character.[2] In this chapter, we will survey some of the consequences that the Church's institutional role had for the clergy. This approach will emphasize the clergy's place in Byzantine

1 Justinian, *Novella* 9, praef.; R. Schoell and W. Kroll (eds.) *Corpus juris civilis,* vol. 3 (Berlin: 1895), 34.

2 Cf. Trullo, canon 69: "It is not permitted to a layman to enter the Holy Altar, though, in accordance with a certain ancient tradition, the imperial power and authority is by no means prohibited from this when he wishes to offer his gifts to the Creator." For the Greek text, numerous versions are available. I have consulted Γ.Α. Ῥάλλης και Μ. Ποτλής, *Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών κανόνων…*, vol. 2 (Athens: 1852), 295–554, which includes commentaries by Zonaras and Balsamon, but more importantly is available freely on-line at <http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/9/3/c/metadata-01-0000374.tkl> (accessed 6 March 2014). This passage is at 466. The English translation is from H. Percival (ed.) *The Seven Ecumenical Councils,* NPNF, second series, vol. 14 (New York: 1916), 355–408, here at 396. On the ancient traditions mentioned in this canon, cf. Theodoret's report about the exchange between Ambrose and Theodosius when the latter intended to make his offering at the altar (Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.18.21-22; L. Parmentier (ed.) *Theodoret. Kirchengeschichte*, Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 19 [Leipzig: 1911], 312–313). In general, see Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: 2003).

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society as well as in the Byzantine church. As a consequence of this approach, we will attend chiefly to events and developments that transpired in the capital city, Constantinople. That decision is justified by the fact that the preponderance of available evidence comes from Constantinople, which was in a very real sense the centre of the empire. Though our initial focus will be on Justinian's long reign (669–711), we will follow developments in the clergy under some specific aspects for several centuries.

Given that the social and pastoral aspects of the Byzantine priesthood especially interest us, in what follows we will chiefly be concerned with the clergy who served the Byzantine church in its cathedrals, parishes, and chapels. By longstanding convention, the clergy are ranked in descending order as follows: bishop [ἐπίσκοπος], priest [πρεσβύτερος], deacon [διάκονος] (the major orders), sub-deacon [ὑποδιάκονος], lector or reader [ἀναγνώστης], cantor or singer [ψάλτης], and doorkeeper (the minor orders).[3] The minor orders are not generally regarded as priestly orders and we will have very little to say about them. Instead, our attention will be directed chiefly to the major orders. "Order" (or τάξις) as a concept is immensely important within the Byzantine church and explains a further refinement (in terminology and administration) within the rank of bishops that deserves a preliminary comment. As we shall see repeated, a main presupposition of the Byzantine church is that the order of the Church and the order of the empire are mutually reinforcing. For this reason, although no bishop is more a bishop than any other bishop, the bishops of regionally important cities nevertheless exercised oversight with respect to the surrounding bishoprics. Thus, chief amongst the local bishops would be the "chief bishop," or in Greek ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, whence "archbishop;" if a bishop's see were a regional capital or "metropolis," he would a "metropolitan bishop" (or "metropolitan archbishop" if he were an archbishop); and in the case of a few preeminent cities, the bishop would be designated "patriarch."

3 E.g., Trullo, canon 4 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 315; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 364). There were, it should be noted, also deaconesses (cf. Trullo, canon 48: ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 419; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 388)–but the absence of deaconesses from the list just quoted is a phenomenon that occurs exceedingly frequently. The resources I have been able to study in preparing this chapter never deny that there were deaconesses, but nor are they particularly informative about what deaconesses did–apart from remaining chaste, of course. (Indeed, they are assimilated to female monastics at Trullo, canon 48, as above.) Because the information is neither abundant nor consistent, and because the interpretation of that evidence is politicized, it has seemed preferable to acknowledge their existence and to mention them when necessary but not to make a special study of them. For a detailed overview of the female diaconate in particular, see Valerie A. Karras, "Female Deacons in the Byzantine Church," *Church History* 73 (2004): 272–316.

Another special category of clergy should be mentioned, namely, the monastic clergy. However, for all the prominence of monastic saints in Byzantine hagiographies and the calendar, I find no reason to focus on monastic clergy. Evidence from even the 9th century indicates that the monk had already become an idealized figure to such an extent that the historical analysts must proceed with care. Thus, with respect to the 9th-century records about contemporary monks, Rosemary Morris has highlighted the difference between "what modern scholarship can demonstrate to have happened" on the one hand and "what many educated Byzantines had been taught *had* happened" on the other.[4] The monk as spiritual father has become such a ubiquitous character in popular imagination that some might expect him to figure prominently into any overview of Byzantine Christianity.[5] But rather than running the risk of misrepresenting the Byzantine church by giving undue prominence to its monastic clergy, I prefer in this chapter to attend primarily to its parish and diocesan clergy even at the risk of underemphasizing the monks.

The Church and the Empire

> … the holy churches, by which, we are confident, our empire is sustained and the common welfare is, through the grace of God, protected …[6]

The Byzantine church consisted in an ordered series of clergy who discharged tasks peculiar to their ranks in chapels, parishes, and dioceses, within

4 Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–118* (Cambridge: 1995), 13, emphasis in the original.

5 Cf. Morris, *Monks and Laymen,* 91, who unfavorably contrasts the support that laity would have had from secular clergy to what they would have had from monastic clergy: "So though doubtless able to give comfort and advice in the normal course of their duties, priests do not seem to have been those to whom the laity turned for deeper spiritual guidance." The semblance that monks would have been "those to whom the laity turned for deeper spiritual guidance" is, I submit, a by-product of hagiographic conventions and thus in itself does not prove where the laity would have likely taken their spiritual concerns.

6 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.42(43), P. Krueger (ed.) *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 2 (Berlin: 1892), 28. Note that, for all translations of the *Codex Justinianus* and Justinian's *Novella*, I have made use of Justice F.H. Blume's translation, which is available freely on-line courtesy of the University of Wyoming's George W. Hopper Law Library, at the following address: http://www.uwyo.edu/lawlib/blume-justinian/ (accessed 6 March 2014). There are no page numbers, but individual titles can be downloaded from that page and searched electronically.

overarching structures of organization that coordinated their activities so as to sustain the empire and protect the common welfare–when all went well. These ranks were hierarchical and within the ranks a given person's position was stipulated within a list, maintained at the level immediately containing that position. The lists came to the fore early in the canons framed by a legislative council that Emperor Justinian caused to assemble in Constantinople in the year 692. Though the disciplinary canons passed by this council were observed throughout the Greek East, the council was not recognized in the West. Even in the East, it is not regarded as an ecumenical council. Its odd status is reflected in the traditional name given it: the "Fifth-Sixth" Council (Latin: *quinisextum*, Greek: πενθέκτη). Less cumbersome is the designation taken from the fact that the fathers of this council met under the dome of an audience hall in the imperial palace. From the late Roman architectural term for a dome, τρούλλος,[7] this council is also called the Council in Trullo.

The council fathers made much use of earlier sources, particularly the Apostolic Canons, the Council of Laodicaea (363/4), Athanasius the Great's *Festal Letters* for 367, and the Council of Carthage of 397.[8] The integration of these decisions into the Trullan canons served to emphasize Justinian's continuity with earlier (if not ancient and apostolic) customs. They were part of the "usable past" that Justinian and his supporters were configuring and activating as part of the ideological transformation of tradition that aimed, in religious as well as political matters, to shore up and even re-extend his empire.[9] That Justinian's ecclesiastical policies were implicated in his imperial policies is, I think, evident from the references in these same canons to two Christian communities who were problematical for geo-political reasons no less than for the liturgical reasons that are the ostensible basis for mentioning them in the canons. In several jarring instances, the canons took pains to denounce Roman practices and Armenian practices.[10] The dynamic circumstances of the day go further to explain why these canons were included than does the simple presumption of good church management. Turning to these circumstances will give us a better informed sense of the Church's place in Justinian's empire.

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7 E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (New York: 1900), 1097.

8 Trullo, canon 2 (ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 308–310; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 361).

9 On Justinian's "transformation of tradition," see Michael Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian* (London: 1992), 32–44.

10 Against Armenian practices, see Trullo, canons 22, 23, 56, and 99 (ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 354–355, 436, 543; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 376, 391, 407); against Roman practices, see Trullo, canons 3, 13, 55 (ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 312–314, 333–334, 434; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 362–363, 371, 391).

The Armenians had long lived on both sides of the Byzantine-Persian border toward the East and, during Justinian's successful military campaigns against the Persians, they received their support as Christians who were themselves resisting Persian efforts to enforce Zoroastrianism.[11] Yet the Armenians did not adhere to the Council of Chalcedon and as such fell outside the parameters of Justinian's orthodoxy. In 536 he began the reconfiguration of Roman Armenia with the stated intention that he did "not want them to have laws other than those cherished by the Romans;" in response, the Armenians eventually allied themselves to the Persians who in 541 invaded and took the city of Petra.[12]

To the West, Justinian's armies were at the same time attempting to retake areas that had formerly been imperial provinces and had subsequently fallen under the cotrol of regional kingdoms. Since the decline of imperial authority in the West, new organizations had emerged and old organizations had developed in response to the change in circumstances with the result that Justinian's forces were not necessarily welcomed. In Rome, the institution of the papacy presented special problems for the reconstitution of the empire's local power.[13] A Roman pope had already demonstrated his willingness to stand apart from, and indeed to stand in judgement of, the imperial church. In 484, Pope Felix excommunicated Patriarch Acacius by way of responding to Emperor Zeno's policy of ecclesiastical unification as published in the *Henotikon* (482).[14] The outcome was a schism between the church of Rome and the church of Constantinople that was only resolved in 518. It was therefore an encouraging sign when Pope Silverius welcomed Justinian's general Belisarius into Rome. But things did not remain on friendly terms. Under circumstances that are unclear Belisarius deposed the pope and exiled him, sending for the pope's own ambassador to Constantinople, Vigilius, so that Vigilius should take Silverius' place.[15] Silverius died in exile and, in some quarters at least, was regarded as a martyr. After he came to power, Vigilius (sed. 537–555) was not as

11 Geoffrey Greatrex, "Byzantium and the East in the Sixth Century," in M. Maas (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge: 2005), 477–509, at 488–90.

12 Justinian, *Novella* 21, praef., (eds.) Schoell and Kroll, 145: "neque leges ut aliae apud eos essent nisi quas Romani colunt constituimus." On these events, see Greatrex, "Byzantium and the East in the Sixth Century," 498.

13 See Claire Sotinel, "Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century: The Western View," in M. Maas (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, 267–90.

14 For the *Henotikon*, see Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.14, trans. M. Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool: 2000), 147–49.

15 Procopius, *History of the Wars* 5.25.13, trans. H.B. Dewing, *Procopius* (Cambridge, MA: 1979), vol. 3, 243.

responsive to Justinian's theological priorities as one might have expected from a man who owed the emperor his position.

The pope of Rome lived at the edge of Justinian's effective reach. In this, he was unlike the four other most senior hierarchs within Justinian's church whose sees–in descending order of precedence: Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem–were firmly within Justinian's control. But already in the late 5th century, Emperor Zeno had reckoned with a factor that would eventually have a profound impact upon the hierarchs who directed the Byzantine church. On 1 April 484, Zeno decreed that all cities should have bishops and that no city could be deprived of its bishopric and thus subordinated to another city, though he made special provisions for the churches in Scythia (southeast Europe):

> But considering the status of the holy churches under the jurisdiction of Tomis in the province of Scythia, these holy churches have been troubled by continuous incursions of the barbarians, or have otherwise been afflicted by want, and they cannot be preserved except by the care of the blessed bishop of Tomis–which city is also the capital of the people–we therefore ordain that they shall be excepted from the present enactment, and shall in no manner be subjected thereto, but they shall retain their present status.[16]

Zeno stipulated that a situation which would be anomalous elsewhere is tolerable in Scythia, because "continuous incursions of barbarians" had made it impossible to maintain the distribution of churches that would otherwise have been expected. This adjustment established a precedent that was extended generally by the Trullan canons:

> Since at different times there have been invasions of barbarians, and therefore very many cities have been subjected to the infidels, so that the bishop of a city may not be able, after he has been ordained, to take possession of his see, and to be settled in it in sacerdotal order, and so to perform and manage for it the ordinations and all things which by custom appertain to the bishop: we, preserving honor and venerations for the priesthood, and in no wise wishing to employ the Gentile injury to the ruin of ecclesiastical rights, have decreed that those who have been ordained thus, and on account of the aforesaid cause have not been settled in their sees, without any prejudice from this thing may be kept [in good standing] and that they may canonically perform the ordination

16 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.35(36)0.2, (ed.) Krueger, 24.

> of the different clerics and use the authority of their office according to the defined limits, and that whatever administration proceeds from them may be valid and legitimate. For the exercise of his office shall not be circumscribed by a season of necessity when the exact observance of law is circumscribed.[17]

By recognizing that borders shift and that territories can be occupied, this canon protects the authority of bishops from being abridged by events that befall the empire. That is, a bishop who is unable to take up his see because it has fallen in enemy hands is no less a bishop for all that. The very next canon establishes the precedent for reconstituting a bishopric and thus reversing the procedure: "If any city be renewed by imperial authority, or shall have been renewed, let the order of things ecclesiastical follow the civil and public models."[18] It is difficult to imagine that anyone assembled in Trullo could have imagined how extensively these canons would be applied in the centuries that followed. Be that as it may, these two canons enabled the diocesan structure of the Byzantine church to expand and to contract with its borders.

The organization within the church of Constantinople that would have provided an obvious place for bishops unable to take their sees was the ἐνδημοῦσα σύνοδος, or "home council," which is first mentioned in documents in 448 even though it (or an earlier equivalent to it) likely arose soon after Constantine relocated his capital to the city.[19] In its early days this council seems to have been made up of those bishops who found themselves in the capital on business. The canons of the Council of Chalcedon (451) designated the exarch or the see of Constantinople as authorities competent to adjudicate between a bishop and his metropolitan, and it seems probable that the home synod would have served as the patriarchal court for such purposes.[20] The early fluidity of the home council made it a natural gathering point for bishops who had been ordained for sees that were out of reach owing to the vicissitudes of war. This functional elasticity was particularly important in ensuring that the home council survived for centuries. For example, by the 9th century, membership in the home council was largely restricted; but after the 11th century with the expansion of the Turks, the home council began to accommodate refugee bishops. The successors of these refugee bishops would

17 Trullo, canon 37 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 388; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 382).

18 Trullo, canon 38 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 392; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 383).

19 Aristides Papadakis, "Endemousa synodos," in A. Kazhdan et al. (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: 1991), vol. 1, 697.

20 Cf. Council of Chalcedon, can. 9, 17 (trans. Price and Gaddis, vol. 3, 97, 100).

in due course be recognized as titular bishops, resident in Constantinople more or less permanently.[21]

These fluctuations in membership notwithstanding, the home council reliably included the clerics of high office who were responsible for the administration of the patriarchal Great Church, the ἄρχοντες.[22] The number and exact responsibilities for these offices changed over the centuries,[23] and there is not always documentation adequate for a detailed reconstruction of these changes. Indeed, J.B. Bury's comment about secular administration for this period seems applicable to ecclesiastical posts as well: "But after the death of Justinian we enter upon a period of about three hundred years which is absolutely destitute of documents bearing directly upon the administrative service."[24] What is clear is that the positions could be abused by unscrupulous opportunists who sought financial gain from them. Or so Emperor Alexis I Komnenos indicated, when he set out reforms for the clergy.[25] By Alexis' reign, there were five chief offices, typically occupied by deacons, though, as Jean Darrouzès' comprehensive study of the clerical offices in Byzantium has shown, we know from seals that particular office holders were sometimes priests. The titles for these offices were the οἰκονόμος (the financial officer),[26] the σκευόφυλαξ (the sacristan, whose fiscal responsibilities complemented those of the οἰκονόμος albeit with reference to sacred property),[27] the πρωτέκδικος (the disciplinary officer),[28] the χαρτοφύλαξ (the archivist–whose "job predisposed its occupant sooner or later to play a leading role in a society where the written document governed all activities")[29] and the σακελλάριος (the overseer of monasteries–an office

21 Cf. J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, revised edition (Oxford: 2010), 321: "This was the influx of refugee ecclesiastics, metropolitans, autocephalous archbishops and suffragans, from enemy-occupied lands."

22 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 314–18.

23 J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'Église byzantine* (Paris: 1970), 11–50.

24 J.B. Bury, *The imperial administrative system in the ninth century, with a revised text of Kletorologion of Philotheos* (London: 1911), 7.

25 Paul Gautier, "L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme du clergé," *Revue des etudes byzantines* 31 (1973): 165–201; for Alexis' characterization of the clergy, see esp. *Edict*, ll. 93–116 (pp. 182–85). More generally, see Jean Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια*, 53–58.

26 Paul Magdalino and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Oikonomos," in A. Kazhdan et al. (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: 1991), vol. 3, 1517.

27 Paul Magdalino and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Skeuophylax," in A. Kazhdan et al. (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: 1991), vol. 3, 1909–10.

28 R.J. Macrides, "Protekdikos," in A. Kazhdan et al., (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: 1991), vol. 3, 1742–43.

29 R.J. Macrides, "Chartophylax," in A. Kazhdan et al., (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: 1991), vol. 1, 415–16. The quotation is from Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια*, 20.

that became permanent in the 11th century).[30] These men constituted, in Jean Darrouzès's terms, an "archontal hierarchy" that was "secondary, parallel and even independent" to the sacramental hierarchy of clergy.[31] The office holders were collectively called the ἐξωκατάκοιλοι,[32] a term whose meaning is obscure but whose existence indicates that by the 11th century these offices were regarded as something like a cabinet or a college. In most cases, these ecclesiastical offices have secular counterparts within the imperial administration at various levels, which demonstrates once more "the order of things ecclesiastical follow[ing] the civil and public models."

The Church and the Benefactor

> And in this place I built my house and the holy temple from the foundations, and [I created] meadows, parks, vineyards, gardens, aqueducts, small farms, water mills, and [I bought] animals for use, both necessary and useful.[33]

The Byzantine Empire afforded its citizens practically unlimited opportunities to support their church. Alongside liturgical participation in the Church's worship, people could participate through making donations. Donations could range from gifts of money, textiles, books or liturgical equipment, to the underwriting of major building programs, and this wide range made it possible for people from all social levels to contribute. From time to time, statements accompanied major donations and these statements can be a source of valuable

30 Alexander Kazhdan and Paul Magdalino, "Sakellarios," in A. Kazhdan et al. (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: 1991), vol. 3, 1828–29.

31 Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια*, 15: "En conséquence, la titulature enregistre un cumul par la superposition d'un emploi bureaucratique ou d'une charge administrative au degré de l'ordre sacré; au ministère sacramentel s'ajoutent des fonctions profanes ou extérieures, qui tendent il former une hiérarchie secondaire parallèle et même indépendante, dans la mesure où ses activités n'ont pas un rapport essentiel ni permanent, mais arbitraire et variable, avec l'institution sacrée. Pour définir la part de l'Église comme telle dans la formation et le développement des offices, il faudrait connaître l'origine des rites et formules d'ordinations secondaires qui finirent par être appliqués aux différents degrés de la hiérarchie archontale."

32 Alexander Kazhdan, "Exokatakoiloi," in A. Kazhdan et al. (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: 1991), vol. 2, 771.

33 Speros Vryonis Jr., "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 11 (1957): 263–277, at 266.

information about what the clergy were doing and what the donors expected from them. Related documents that help us understand the circumstances of these donations are also important for the information they provide about the livelihood, comportment, preparation, and responsibilities of priests. Finally, they also correct a popular misapprehension that, in my experience, has been promoted by misguided Orthodox theologians and priests who are keen to distinguish the Byzantine ecclesiastical heritage sharply from the detested excesses of the Western Middle Ages, with its private masses and private chapels and private intentions. Despite their assertions to the contrary, there were indeed private chapels in Byzantium. And these chapels were within the framework of Orthodox canon law, were wholly Orthodox in their faith and worship, and were regarded as such in their own time. The existence of these private religious foundations raises another topic for our consideration, viz., how the clergy who served them related to the clergy of public churches.[34]

There was, of course, a real danger that private churches could attract or shelter dissident, subversive or heretical Christians. Who can tell what happens behind closed doors? However, such a danger was hardly beyond the wit of legislators to redress. Justinian merely had to affirm a statute promulgated in the Codex Theodosianus in 404, to wit: "We forbid unlawful (religious) assemblies in private houses, outside of the Church. A house will be in danger of confiscation if its owner admits clergymen thereto who hold rebellious and disturbing assemblies outside of the Church."[35] At first glance, the striking contrast in this law is between private houses and the Church. But upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the objectionable religious assemblies in private houses are those that are unlawful. Such assemblies are further characterized as involving clergymen "who hold rebellious and disturbing assemblies outside of the Church." What is unlawful is not meeting in a private house for religious purposes as such; rather, it is a religious assembly involving clergy who are acting beyond the authority of the Church. Thus interpreted, this law does not prejudice the status of religious assemblies in private houses, but merely stipulates the consequences that follow if unlawful religious assemblies are found to have happened in a private house. The possibility is allowed for a lawful religious assembly in a private house, attended by clergymen who are acting within the authority of the Church.

34 On churches and other religious establishments privately founded, see John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 24 (Washington, DC: 1987).

35 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.15 (29 August 404, C. Th. 16.2.37), (ed.) Krueger, 20.

A stipulation at the Council in Trullo tends to confirm this interpretation of the law. The relevant canon stipulates the mechanism whereby two particularly momentous religious services can be legitimately performed in private: "Clerics who in oratories which are in houses offer the Holy Mysteries or baptism, we decree ought to do this with the consent of the bishop of the place. Wherefore if any cleric shall not have so done, let him be deposed."[36] Such services are authorized by the consent of the bishop in whose diocese the oratory (τό εὐκτήριον [οἶκος]) is located. The expectation would seem to be that authorization for the performance of a baptism privately would be given exceedingly rarely[37]; celebrations of the Eucharistic liturgy at private venues occurred, I presume, more often. In any case, through the consent of the bishop any such services would occur within the authority of the church and not in competition with the church. In this way, Ignatius' ancient principle–"It is not lawful either to baptize or to hold an 'agapé' without the bishop; but whatever he approve, this is also pleasing to God, that everything which you do may be secure and valid"[38]–was honored. Violations of this principle entail a breach between the offending priest and the church, with the natural result that the canon declares him to be deposed on that basis.

The bishop was active in other instances where the needs of the state and the needs of the church could be reconciled only with care. We encounter an unexpected example, which also confirms the existence of private as well as parish churches, in a law that requires the bishop to exercise discretion in determining how many clergymen were needed in a given area. The state required that "the number of clergymen to be ordained in the churches shall be in proportion to the size and importance of each village, according to the judgement of the bishop."[39] Laws such as this were motivated by financial considerations. By way of recognizing the sacral character of their status, the state had provided the clergy with relief from a range of "sordid" public burdens.[40] These privileges extended to "their wives, children, slaves, male and female, together with their children."[41] Although this legal privilege accomplished the state's goal of promoting the church, it also had obvious consequences for the

36 Trullo, canon 31 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 374; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 379).

37 Trullo, canon 59 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 438–439; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 392) prohibits baptism in private oratories and directs that baptisms should be held in a church.

38 Ignatius, *To the Smyrneans* 7.2, Kirsopp Lake, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Fathers,* Loeb Classical Library (London: 1917), vol. 1, 260–261.

39 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.11 (27 July 398, C. Th. 16.2.32.33), (ed.) Krueger, 19–20.

40 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.2 (= C. Th. 16.2.14), (ed.) Krueger, 19: "The clergy … shall not be called on for any sordid (degrading) liturgies (public burdens)."

41 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.2.4, (ed.) Krueger, 19; the possibility that clergy could have slaves is noteworthy.

state's revenue through taxation. And it led in turn to the need for the state to issue further legislation with respect to the clergy, so the state could manage its tax base. Thus, the Roman system of taxation had long included a tax *per capita*, which was directly linked to the census (a connection made familiar to Christians by the circumstances surrounding Jesus' birth, as related in Luke 2:1–5). In addition to making bishops responsible for limiting the number of (tax-exempt) clergy to a reasonable number in a given location, the law we are now considering also required that ordinands ought not "to be taken from any other estate or village that than where the Church is located"–because the movement of persons from one place to another had implications for the capitation tax that could be raised from a specific area. The introduction of clergy into a small community could create problems (if, for instance, the community is closed, then the clergyman will find integration difficult, which will complicate the fulfillment of his priestly responsibilities); but quite apart from these spiritual and pastoral considerations, the state had a fiscal interest in restricting the movement of clergy or ordinands.

That legislation chiefly concerned the agency of the bishop in deciding where to ordain clergy and how many clergy to ordain for a locale. Other laws brought to bear the financial and social consequences of priestly ordination with reference to the ordinands or clergymen themselves. Ordination in itself did not suffice to dissolve financial obligations. We are told, for example, that a man who has been added to the tax declaration of another (technically, an *adscripticius* or ἐναπόγραφος)–that is, a man who was not listed on the tax rolls under his own name and who did not own land–could only become a member of the clergy if he had received express permission from the man under whose name he was listed for purposes of taxation. In cases where such permission has not been given, the landlord's lawful rights over the man are in no way abridged by the ordination. This principle applied equally to peasant farmers and tenant farmers, who were likewise bound by law to the land which they worked and which their landlords owned (albeit in different ways).[42]

This legislated restriction of movement is the secular counterpoint to a general principle established in canon law, which prohibited clergymen of any rank whatsoever from being registered in the lists of a new church

42 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.36(37), (ed.) Krueger, 24. On the property distinctions that are the basis for these terms, see Miroslava Mirković, *The Later Roman Colonate and Freedom*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 87, pt 2 (Philadelphia: 1997), 67–84.

unless he has been released by his own bishop.[43] Clergymen with itchy feet had been recognized as a problem as early as the *Didache*, which offered guidance to churches about how long they should be prepared to offer support to itinerant prophets and preachers (and at what point their hospitality should be discontinued).[44] The problem has recurred for centuries. The tenth canon of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) indicates that the private chapels of stately homes in the imperial capital were profoundly attractive to clergy from outside Constantinople and so stipulates that permission is required from both the former bishop and from the bishop of Constantinople.[45] The economic migration of clergy was a plainly intolerable problem. J.M. Hussey took this canon as evidence for an ongoing problem between the parishes and the wealthy private chapels of the cities, though matters may well have been different in the case of private chapels in the countryside:

> churches on a country estate were not likely to be in competition with a 'catholic' church and fulfilled a genuine need. But it might well be otherwise in a city where there was an increasing tendency to establish private chapels and to found monasteries in which some of the family fortune was invested in the form of an endowment. In practice this permanently withdrew financial resources from episcopal control, and in some cases also from the state, as more than one Emperor was quick to perceive but failed to prevent.[46]

A single source, the last will and testament of a country landlord, primarily informed Hussey's markedly positive estimation of the private churches on country estates. This will provides a rare glimpse into the personal possessions of a vastly wealthy landowner. Because it is so unusual, the will does not permit us to make generalizations. But the will is worth close consideration all the same, since it provides concrete examples which illustrate general principles that we have deduced from other sources.

In April of 1059, Eustathios Boïlas made provisions for the dispersal of his considerable fortune, which included eleven villages and properties in

43 Trullo, canon 17 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 343; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 374): "… no cleric, of whatsoever grade he be, shall have the power, without letters dismissory of his own bishop, to be registered in the clergy list of another church."

44 Didache, 11–12; Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1, 324–29.

45 See Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 331–32.

46 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 332.

Byzantine Iberia and (by my estimation) several kilograms of gold.[47] He identified himself as a ὕπατος and a πρωτοσπαθάριος τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου: the *Chrysotriklinios* being the Golden Reception Hall of the Great Palace in Constantinople, a *protospatharios* being a high rank in the Byzantine court that frequently marked out senior generals and provincial governors, and a *hypatos* being an honorary consul and therefore a man of senatorial rank. Boïlas took pride in his rank, in his financial solvency, in his marriage to Anna, in his children Irene, Maria, and Romanos (the last of whom had predeceased Eustathios), in the improvements he had overseen in managing and developing his estates, and in the orthodoxy of his Christian faith. Boïlas indicated that adverse circumstances–perhaps having been implicated in a failed coup that another Boïlas had plotted against Emperor Constantine IX–had forced him to relocate with his family some ten days' journey from his native Cappadocia into Iberia.[48] The territory where he had settled and purchased land had only come under Byzantine authority in 1022, and would fall to the Turks in 1074, as a result of which it is now impossible to identify with accuracy more than one of Boïlas' former estates. The total loss of material evidence means that the will retains its interest for being a list of properties, and for our purposes the important properties are the private churches and also the money allocated for the clergy to serve at them.

Boïlas bequeathed half of his property at Bouzina to his daughter Maria, and the other half "to my church of the Theotokos, which I built from the foundations, in complete and inalienable ownership for the maintenance of the clergy who serve in the Church; and I give twenty-six *nomismata* as salary of the priests and deacons and twelve for the lighting of candles. And to the Church of the holy martyr Barbara, which serves as the burial place of my true mother, of my son Romanus, and of my wife, and shall also serve as the burial place for me, the miserable and unworthy, twelve [*nomismata*] for the liturgies and the commemoration services, to wit for the Church and the funerals."[49] A Byzantine *nomisma*–in the plural, *nomismata*–was a coin struck from 4.5 g of gold and it is estimated that, around Boïlas' time, an unskilled worker would have earned a typical salary of about one nomisma per month.[50] We are not

47 Paul Lemerle, "Le Testament d'Eustathios Boïlas," in his *Cinq Etudes sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris: 1977), 15–63 (text and commentary); Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate."

48 For Eustathios' possible involvement in the conspiracy, see Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate," 274.

49 Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate," 267, slightly modified.

50 See Cécile Morrisson, "Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation," in Angeliki Laiou (ed.) *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth*

told how many priests and deacons served at each of the churches, but it is reasonable to suppose that Boïlas' donations in cash would have paid their salaries for a year (to say nothing of income derivable in perpetuity from owning half of his property at Bouzina). We should also note that Boïlas allocated 12 *nomismata* to pay for candles at the Church of the Theotokos, and that he specified that he would have liturgies and commemorations performed for himself, his mother, his wife, and his son at the Church of St. Barbara. Above and beyond the provision of cash and of revenue, Boïlas had supplied the Church of the Theotokos richly. He listed two processional crosses and a smaller cross (presumably, for blessings), numerous silver-gilt liturgical vessels, and hanging lamps, which he valued at 300 *nomismata*. A chalice, fifteen silk cloths or towels for liturgical use, seven priestly robes with stola and belts, two *omophoria*, two pieces of embroidered silk, a silver candlestick, a silver reliquary, eight gilt icons, twelve copper icons, thirty icons painted in gold, ten smaller icons (including eight folding icons), and over twenty other pieces of metalwork: these articles, furnished by Boïlas in his role as patron of the Church of the Theotokos, would have been in constant use by the priests and deacons.

Boïlas expected services to be performed by the clergy regularly. His will gives a detailed list of the services that are to be offered there–and it also gives incentives to his daughters to attend them! His daughters, he insisted,

> shall also observe the holidays and memorial services, and they shall provide for the complete care of the Church, and of the clergy, and of my wretched and miserable soul. They shall observe the following feast days: The lying-in of the Virgin [i.e., 26th of December], the Dormition, the Exaltation of the life-giving Cross, and the entrance of the Virgin into the temple; memorial services on the fifth of November for my parents, and on the twenty-sixth of September for my blessed wife; and furthermore (whatever else) God enables them. They shall observe strictly the three holy Quadragesima, i.e., the great one, that of the Holy Apostles, and that of Christmas [i.e., Lent, the Apostles' Fast, and Advent]. And (they shall observe) the holy Wednesdays and Fridays except for those of Easter and the Duodecameron [i.e., the twelve days from Christmas to Epiphany], according to the tradition of the seven ecumenical councils. And as

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Century (Washington, DC: 2002), 909–66; Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Prices and wages in the Byzantine world," in Laiou (ed.) *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 807–70; and Branko Milanovic, "An Estimate of Average Income and Inequality in Byzantium around Year 1000," *Review of Income and Wealth* 52 (2006): 449–70.

> I wished these commemorations of my family to be eternal, and as I wished the services of the holy church to be undisturbed and untroubled, I provided for this out of my free property. If my children and heirs fulfill these things readily and soundly, they shall be lords and masters of all my property.[51]

Furthermore, Boïlas also donated approximately eighty volumes, some secular (Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe*, the fables of Aesop, a book on the interpretation of dreams, a grammar, and possibly the two chronicles not otherwise described), others scriptural (Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Genesis, Proverbs, the Prophets), liturgical (the Triodion, books of the saints for each day of the month, books of the hymns for the day to be sung at the appropriate point in the liturgy), apocryphal (*Twelve Patriarchs*), hagiographic (the Life of Antipas, the Life of Niphon), ascetical (John Moschus' *Spiritual Meadow,* Anthony Melissa, John Climacus, a *paterikon*), as well as exegetical and theological (Basil's *Hexaemeron*, "three books of the ethics of St. Chrysostom," John Damascene, poems by Gregory Nazianzus, the letters of Isidore of Pelusium). Of these books, Boïlas wrote: "And these are dedicated to the holy church, so that my two daughters may have the use and possession of them for chanting, reading, and learning. They may not be alienated by other persons; except by the will and consent of the clergy, these must be used as it is necessary, when it is necessary, and where it is necessary."[52] The presence of secular books in this extraordinary library made possible the implementation of a further clause in Boïlas' will: "All male children who are born of my freed family servants and slaves shall be brought up in the Church of the Theotokos in the learning of the holy letters and shall be made clerics, being provided for by the Church."[53] The church served as a center for worship, but also for education. And this education was connected with priestly service.

Indications elsewhere in the will suggest that Boïlas had already implemented the practice of having some of the children on his estates educated so that they would be suitable for the priesthood. Boïlas had "assigned" [ἐκλήρωσα] a certain Constantine, the son of his servant Kyriakos, to the Church of the Theotokos; he had "honored with the dignity of the priesthood" [τῷ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐτίμησα ἀξιώματι] a certain Basil, the son of his servant Semne; he had "decreed a clergyman [of the Church] of the Theotokos" [ὃν τυπώσας καὶ αὐτὸν κληρικὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου] a certain Gregory, who was trained and earned

51 Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate," 270, slightly modified.

52 Ibid., "The Will of a Provincial Magnate," 269–270.

53 Ibid., "The Will of a Provincial Magnate," 271, slightly modified.

money as a copyist and who had been a slave of Anna Boïlas.[54] Boïlas described his involvement in these ordinations using active terms. It is not obvious that the Church of the Theotokos was a proprietary church, but Boïlas certainly seems to have identified young men for special training with the intention that they should become priests in the Churches that he had built on his property.[55]

A final consideration about Boïlas' will: establishing churches was something of a family tradition as he seemed to think of it. His much-revered mother had herself established a church in Cappadocia. Boïlas' sense of obligation moved him to make donations to that church in his will, as well, but because the text is lacunose at that point it is difficult to know the exact extent of his benefactions. (Indeed, two editors construed the text so differently that one identified the church as being dedicated to "the hierarch Modestos" and the other identified it as being dedicated to "the three hierarchs" with Modestos being named as caretaker for the property.)[56] In any case, Boïlas also made provisions for the eventuality of either of his daughters and their husbands relocating to a new place. Under such circumstances, he envisaged they might wish to build another church and he therefore allowed for the movables that he had given to the Church of the Theotokos to be divided between that church and the new foundation, "and thus each shall benefit from the blessing of God and of the Theotokos."[57]

The clergy who served the Church of the Theotokos, and in all likelihood those who served the Church of St. Barbara and the Church of St. Modestos (or perhaps the Church of the Three Hierarchs), would have been from the social groups who were tied to the land in significant ways and, therefore, they would have been subject to the suite of laws that we surveyed earlier in this section. However, there are other laws pertinent to other social groups that regulate the clergy and these should be noted as well. For example, the eligibility for ordination is restricted to certain groups within society. *Apparitores* were ineligible for the presbytery and for the episcopacy, because their public obligations as civil servants would in all likelihood have involved them in the

54 Paul Lemerle, "Le Testament d'Eustathios Boïlas," 26–27.

55 Leo the Deacon (*History* 6.6-7) reports that in 970 Emperor John I Tzimikes was involved in a similarly direct way in the appointment of Theodore of Koloneia as the patriarch of Antioch and Basil as ecumenical patriarch; see Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis F. Sullivan, trans., *The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century,* 6.6-7 (Washington, D.C.: 2005), 149–52.

56 See Paul Lemerle, "Le Testament d'Eustathios Boïlas," 27, *app. crit.* to line 234.

57 Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate," 272, slightly modified.

application of judicial violence; as such, they were unsuitable for ordination.[58] *Decuriones* were also ineligible for ordination into the clergy, since their financial responsibilities included making good any shortfall in the collection of tax–and the tax benefits conferred upon clergy would exempt them from those responsibilities.[59]

Priests and Pastoral Care

> For he is unfit to bless another who needs to take care of his own wounds, for blessing is the imparting of sanctification.[60]

Eustathios Boïlas donated dozens of books to the Church of the Theotokos and expected that the men designated for priestly service would be educated to a standard that would enable them to make use of the books–and the scattering of secular books might suggest that he would have wanted them to be able to do more than make technical use of the service books. Byzantium has long enjoyed a reputation for higher standards of literacy than would have been found in the West during contemporary periods, but this reputation probably owes more to facile contrasts between unknown quantities and to a species of orientalism, than to any hard evidence.[61] Without attempting a sweeping claim, it is enough to say that Boïlas had expectations for the clergy who would serve at the churches he founded. Expectations of that sort are more readily available than are data about different levels of functional literacy, and comparable expectations about (e.g.) the morals to be found amongst the clergy are also more readily available than data about the occurrence of past behavior. In offering an account of the pastoral responsibilities of Byzantine clergymen, we will therefore attend to evidence about what was expected of them. The

58 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.52(53)0.1-4, (ed.) Krueger, 35.

59 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.12 (= *Codex Theodosianus* 9.45.3), (ed.) Krueger, 20.

60 Trullo, canon 26 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 361–362; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 377).

61 For a balanced and informed perspective on Byzantine literacy, see Margaret Mullett, "Writing in Early Medieval Byzantium," in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: 1990), 156–85. Although the time and place are not directly relevant here, worthy of attention are the techniques employed to study degrees of literacy in Byzantine Egypt by Ewa Wipszycka, "Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypte byzantine," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 30 (1984): 279–96 (reprinted in her *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* [Rome: 1996], 107–26) and "Encore sur le question de la 'literacy' après l'étude de W.V. Harris," *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome: 1996), 127–35.

tone we encounter in these sources may be positive (as when books are donated with the expectation that they will be used) or negative (as when a reform is urgently sought and current standards are denounced), but we will take these aspects of the evidence in our stride and not be unduly swayed by them.

Boïlas was not unusual in expecting the clergy to be educated. After all, clergy were expected to teach the faithful–something they would find difficult to do without the benefit of training. It bears remembering, too, that Byzantine Christianity had by this time already been significantly formed through the experience of controversies over theology and over religious practice. We need not suppose that every Christian of the day would have cared intensely about the finer points of Christology, but it is more than probable (given Byzantine pride in orthodox faith) that Christians would look to the clergy for instruction in the principles of the faith, for preaching, and for the exposition of the Scriptures. Such at least is the implication of this canon from the council in Trullo:

> It behooves those who preside over the Churches, every day but especially on Lord's days, to teach all the clergy and people words of piety and of right religion, gathering out of holy Scripture meditations and determinations of the truth, and not going beyond the limits now fixed, nor varying from the tradition of the God-bearing fathers. And if any controversy in regard to Scripture shall have been raised, let them not interpret it otherwise than as the lights and doctors of the Church in their writings have expounded it, and in those let them glory rather than in composing things out of their own heads, lest through their lack of skill they may have departed from what was fitting. For through the doctrine of the aforesaid fathers, the people coming to the knowledge of what is good and desirable, as well as what is useless and to be rejected, will remodel their life for the better, and not be led by ignorance, but applying their minds to the doctrine, they will take heed that no evil befall them and work out their salvation in fear of impending punishment.[62]

The responsibility for teaching as laid out here includes teaching "all the clergy and the people"; taken with the reference to "those who preside over the Churches," that clause indicates that the primary target of this rule was the bishops. However, responsibility for teaching was evidently not reserved

62 Trullo, canon 19 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 346–47 ; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 374–75).

exclusively for the bishop in whose diocese Eustathios Boïlas' property was. If so, then it is difficult to imagine why a man who asserted the importance of orthodoxy so vigorously would want to educate candidates for the clergy and to provide books for them and for his daughters to read. It is difficult to imagine that a man who was so preoccupied with his own orthodoxy would have subverted the standards of his time by preparing priests to preach on his estate, if doing so would have violated the norms of Byzantine orthodoxy. To the contrary, responsibility for teaching was obviously deputed to the priests by the bishops so that they could assist in the work of bringing people "to the knowledge of what is good and desirable, as well as what is useless and to be rejected." This knowledge they were to find in the writings of the "God-bearing fathers" and not to compose "things out of their own heads." This interpretation and application of the canon is confirmed by Alexis I Komnenos' edict from 1107, which deplores the current state of affairs and reverts to terms consistent with those we have just seen when it commands, "It is necessary too for worthy priests to be established in the parish churches of the countryside, so that again the priests themselves should enlighten the laity and transmit to all the orthodox proclamation."[63] To that end, the emperor established a corps of "teachers," some of whom would become priests, to improve educational standards amongst the existing clergy.

Clergy were expected to teach not only by exposition but also by example. Hence, civil and canon law set minimal standards, and occasionally announced the proper ambitions, so that the clergy would live respectable (if not exemplary) lives. This is evident in the regulations that pertain to marriage. Men who were already singers and readers were permitted to marry; presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons were not.[64] These regulations speak out in the strongest possible terms against presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons who, "in disregard of the sacred canons," have taken up a partner and sired children. Not content that such men should merely be laicized, Justinian proclaimed that the children of such unions would be "such as the law designates those to be who are procreated in incest and in nefarious nuptials; so that they shall not be known even as natural or spurious children, but as outcasts, unworthy of succession to the property of their fathers; neither shall they or their mothers be able to take gifts from them, even through intermediate persons; but all grants made to them by their father shall fall to the holy church to which those committing

63 Alexis I Komnenos, *Edict,* ll. 325–07, Gautier (ed.) "L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène," 199: "Δεῖ δέ καὶ ἀξιόλογους ἱερεῖς ἐγκαθιδρυθῆναι ταῖς τῶν χωρίων καθολικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς ἂν αυτοί πάλιν οἱ ἱερεῖς φωτίζωσι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου κηρύγματος πᾶσι μεταδιδῶσιν."

64 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.44(45), (ed.) Krueger, 30–31.

such acts belong."[65] Those harsh measures refer to children born to relationships that formed after the man had been ordained. It is the fact that the clergymen (of the rank of subdeacon or higher) had fathered a child with a woman who was not his wife *at the time of his ordination* that was objectionable. This is clearly indicated by another law, taken from the Codex Theodosianus and reiterated in the Codex Justinianus, which states: "Chastity, further, admonishes that those women should not be deserted, who prior to the priesthood of their husbands, lived in lawful wedlock; nor are those women improperly united to members of the clergy, who by their association have made the men worthy of the priesthood."[66] So far from disparaging marriage within the priesthood, this law actually states that there were cases in which marriage had improved the husband significantly enough that the wife deserved some credit for making him worthy of the priesthood. But here the clerical rank needs to be noted. For a priest to put away his wife is an offense against the admonition of chastity. Matters differed with bishops. If a man were married and soon to be made a bishop, he should, by mutual consent with his wife, set aside their marriage. The wives in such cases should retire to a monastery and "if she is deemed worthy she may be advanced to the dignity of a deaconess."[67] That married man upon becoming a bishop should refuse to part from his wife after consecration was regarded as scandalous, offensive, and something only done "in Africa and Libya and in other places"–probably generally in the West.[68]

It will perhaps seem surprising that the difference between the honorable married life of a priest, and the scandalous continuation of marriage by a bishop, was chiefly described in practical (and perhaps financial) terms. There is no particular sense that the difference is about how outrageous, or not, it would be to think of a clergyman at one rank having sex compared to how outrageous it would be to think of a clergyman at *another* rank having sex. To the contrary, as we have seen, marriage had elevated to the dignity of the priesthood some men who would ostensibly not otherwise been worthy of it. What seems to have been objectionable about a bishop remaining married was chiefly that no one could conceivably meet the demands of a family life and the demands of ecclesiastical administration simultaneously.[69] This principle

65 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.44(45)0.3, (ed.) Krueger, 30.

66 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.19.1 (3 May 420, C. Th. 16.2.44), (ed.) Krueger, 20.

67 Trullo, canon 48 (ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 419; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 388).

68 Trullo, canon 12(ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 330–31; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 370).

69 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.41(42)0.2, (ed.) Krueger, 26: "Hence it is proper that such bishops be selected and ordained who have neither children nor grandchildren, since he who is occupied by the cares of daily life which children bring upon their parents cannot devote his mind and every thought to divine worship and ecclesiastical matters."

was extended to preclude bishops who had already reared their families, whose wives were no longer a consideration, and yet who had grandchildren, since the episcopal consecration of a grandfather was expressly prohibited.[70] Further corroboration that extended (and distracting) familial responsibility, rather than sexual activity in itself, was operative here is seen in the exemption of clergy from any "duty of guardianship," which would be incompatible with their obligation to "devote themselves constantly to the services of the omnipotent God."[71]

That was not to say that the acceptance of a married priesthood implied sexual license for priests, however. A remarkable cautionary tale from nearly-contemporary Byzantium bundled into its fallen hero's vices being too fond of drink and, since he was a married priest, he was particularly vulnerable to stumble drunkenly into the wrong bed and in that way set in motion a sequence of remarkable events. The priest's wife, seemingly disgusted, had returned to her mother's house for the night and left a message for the priest with her female servant. The message was that the local governor intended to have the priest perform the liturgy in memory of his parents on the following day. "When it was evening the priest came, very drunk, and lay down in his bed. The devil entered into his servant and she lay down close to the priest. He awoke and was intimate with her, thinking it was his wife." The servant departed during the night. When the priest's wife woke him in the morning and told him to prepare for the liturgy, "the priest grinned and said to her: 'What are you saying, silly woman? Don't you know what we did this night? And you say I am going to celebrate the liturgy?'" The priest knew that married clergy were supposed to be continent the night before celebrating a liturgy. His wife was baffled, and together they questioned the servant who admitted what had happened.

Just how his wife responded to this news, we are not told. But the priest opted to make a confession and celebrate the liturgy as if nothing had happened, because he did not want to upset the governor. In the course of liturgical preparations, an angel appeared "to consecrate the holy gifts" and when he saw the priest he berated him for the presumption of serving the liturgy after having sinned with his body the previous night. Displaying for the first time a remarkable and unexplained power, the priest retorted, "'Since you make me

70 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.41(42)0.4, (ed.) Krueger, 26: "For it behooves a bishop to be untrammeled by the affection of children of the flesh and to be the spiritual father of all the faithful. We therefore forbid any one to be ordained bishop who has children or grandchildren."

71 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.51(52), (ed.) Krueger, 34–35; the quotation is from 1.3.51(52)0.1.

an outcast like this, do you also want to be an outcast!' And, oh, the wonder of it!–the angel immediately lost his wings and remained in the Church as a man." The priest was unaware of this startling development and carried on his day as usual. Shortly thereafter, the priest was involved in a funeral service and when he sang over the corpse the words "For thou and the resurrection, the life and the repose" (a prayer to Christ), the dead man sat up and said, "Even though you raise the dead, you are unworthy to wear a stole or to celebrate the liturgy or to perform any priestly function." This of course caused a tremendous stir and the priest confessed his sins and the other priests gathered for the funeral disassociated him from themselves. The priest, at a loss for how he would earn his living, went to a new city and began serving liturgies there. He did not age, though his face turned black. He survived his wife and his children by 370 years, when a godly bishop met him and undertook to resolve this bizarre situation.

The priest led the bishop back to the site of his former church, now a ruin except for the sanctuary. And there they found the angel, still standing and without his wings. At the bishop's insistence, and after some wrangling, the man forgave the angel in the name of the Trinity. The angel's wings returned and, taking to the sky, the angel forgave the priest–who immediately collapsed into a heap of bones. The bishop then wrote up this edifying tale and appended to it an emphatic moral:

> When we perform priestly duties we must have no part [of such things]. So if anybody has a hankering after fornication [*porneia*] or for any other desire of the flesh–gluttony, drunkenness, covetousness [*philargyria*], grudge-bearing [*mnêsikakia*], vain glory or pride–these things make him unworthy of the priesthood and a despiser of the spotless mysteries … So then, look, my brethren; we have learned that there is nothing on earth greater than the priesthood; not even kingship or any other thing. And a man who is unworthy [of priesthood] and does not desist [from the exercise of it], if death shall find him unrepentant, will be tormented with Judas Iscariot in the worst possible places of punishment.[72]

The number of sins committed by the drunkard priest is impressive. He drinks, he frequents a public house, he fornicates with a servant, he disregards the canons, he curses an angel, and he relocates to flee his reputation without

72 John Wortley, trans., *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia, and of Other Authors* (Kalamazoo, MI: 1996), 127–133; see also Wortley's notes on the provenance of this tale, at 197–99.

permission from the local bishop. The drunkard priest also begins serving liturgies illicitly (because without a bishop's approval), which is how he makes his livelihood. And this suggests another area in which priests were expected to be honest, if not exemplary: in their financial dealings. No clergyman should compel the faithful to give gifts,[73] or otherwise profit financially from legacies that have been bequeathed to the Church.[74] On the other hand, there is no stigma attached to a priest having another profession, provided it is an honorable one. As we have already seen from the will of Eustathios Boïlas, priests could be farmers or copyists. And we read in the 13th-century *Life of Leontius, patriarch of Jerusalem,* that Leontius met a man who "happened to be a priest by dignity, but a sea merchant by profession."[75]

In addition, certain public events and activities were closed to priests. The drunkard priest whose case we reviewed earlier was notorious for spending his time at an inn, drinking, which was related in the source with something like weariness that indicated disapproval. Clergy and monks were prohibited from taking part in horse races and theatrical performances.[76] Clergy and laity alike were to refrain from playing dice and were prohibited from being actors.[77] The curious practice of prohibiting both clergy and laity from some activities raise a point for consideration: How did the fathers of the Council in Trullo expect the clergy to be recognized at such events? Two canons indicate that the clergy were distinguishable at a glance from other Christians. The first makes a rather odd allowance for clergymen who have been laicized because of sin: "If, however, keeping conversion continually before their eyes, they willingly deplore the sin on account of which they fell from grace, and made themselves aliens therefrom, they may still cut their hair after the manner of clerics."[78]

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73 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.38(39)0.2 (19 November 524), (ed.) Krueger, 24–25.

74 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.48(49)0.2, (ed.) Krueger, 34: "And if he appointed captives as his heirs, the bishop and the steward of the city in which the testator is known to have lived and passed his life, shall take charge of the inheritance and use it for the redemption of captives, either spending the annual rental or the proceeds of a sale of movable or self-moving property, and no gain shall accrue therefrom either to the steward, bishop, or holy church." Cf. the legislation that establishes a time frame for bishops to discharge funds that have been bequeathed for the building of a church, *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.45(46)0.1, (ed.) Krueger, 31: If a bequest is given to fund the building of a church, the bishop "shall see to the erection thereof within three years."

75 Dimitris Tsougarakis, (ed.) and trans., *The Life of Leontius, patriarch of Jerusalem* 12.3 (Leiden: 1993), 47–48: Ἐντυχὼν δ'ἀνδρὶ ἱερεῖ μὲν τὸ ἀξίομα, θαλαττεμπόρῳ δὲ τὸ πιτήδευμα …

76 Trullo, canon 24 (ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 356; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 376).

77 Trullo, canons 50, 51 (ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 424–25; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 388).

78 Trullo, canon 21 (ed. Ῥάλλης και Ποτλής, 352; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 375).

And further along in the canons we read, "None of those who are in the catalogue of the clergy shall wear clothes unsuited to them, either while still living in town or when on a journey: but they shall wear such clothes as are assigned to those who belong to the clergy. And if any one shall violate this canon, he shall be cut off for one week."[79] By their manner of dressing and how their hair was cut, clergymen were set apart.

Another expectation, this time established by law, was that clergymen should perform services at their churches daily "and shall not when bearing the name of clergymen only appear to be such, while consuming the substance of the Church, but withdrawing themselves from the service of God, which is the duty of churchmen."[80] Justinian was especially aggrieved that some clergymen were in the practice of subcontracting the services. Whether the "substitutes" were paid for their work or not is unsaid, but in any case Justinian regarded the practice as a serious dereliction of priestly responsibility: "For if any of the laity, in order to consult the interests of their soul, flock to holy churches and are intent upon psalmody, it would be absurd that clergymen who are ordained for that purpose should not fulfil their duty."[81] Justinian's arresting phrase–that "in order to consult the interests of their soul" the laity "flock to holy churches"–indicates a final topic of relevance to our study of what the Byzantines expected of their priests. They looked to the church for the good of their souls and the priests have a considerable responsibility to the laity to care for them pastorally.

It has been suggested that Byzantine Christians would have been content with pastoral assistance from the clergy of their church, but for "deeper spiritual guidance" they would have sought out monks.[82] I am not entirely sure what sort of evidence would enable a historian to evaluate the depth of spiritual need, but in any event we know from a long statement from the Council in Trullo that priests were expected to have great and personal experience with curing the "disease of sin." Priests should lead good Christian lives because doing so gave them first-hand knowledge that they could, and should, apply in healing the laity who turned to them for aid. In practical terms, this knowledge

79 Trullo, canon 27 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 364; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 377).

80 *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.42(43)0.24, (ed.) Krueger, 28.

81 Ibid. Justinian used a similar expression when justifying the exemption from the duty of guardianship that he had extended to the clergy: "But we ordain that only those clergymen and monks shall possess such privilege who (actually) belong to the holy churches or monasteries, not those who wander about or are negligent in their divine services, since we grant this privilege only so that when free from all other duties they may devote themselves constantly to the services of the omnipotent God."

82 See n. 5, above.

would inform his decisions about when to be strict in his dealings with the faithful and when to be compassionate:

> It behooves those who have received from God the power to loose and bind, to consider the quality of the sin and the readiness of the sinner for conversion, and to apply medicine suitable for the disease, lest if he is injudicious in each of these respects he should fail in regard to the healing of the sick man. For the disease of sin is not simple, but various and multiform, and it germinates many mischievous offshoots, from which much evil is diffused, and it proceeds further until it is checked by the power of the physician. Wherefore he who professes the science of spiritual medicine ought first of all to consider the disposition of him who has sinned, and to see whether he tends to health of (on the contrary) provokes himself to disease by his own behavior, and to look how he can care for his manner of life during the interval. [...] For we ought to know two things, to wit, the things which belong to strictness and those which belong to custom, and to follow the traditional form in the case of those who are not fitted for the highest things, as holy Basil teaches us.[83]

The various measures and standards that we have surveyed aimed at making the priests morally upright and thus able to improve the spiritual health of Christians at large. No doubt, the description of pastoral care just quoted lacks the stunning mystical quality that can be found in some monastic texts.[84] Even so, we have no reason to think the priests in parishes and in chapels would have been deficient in their abilities to health the souls of the faithful and to promote their spiritual well-being, which would appear from the evidence we have seen to have been their overriding responsibility after all.

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83 Trullo, canon 102 (ed. Ῥάλλης καὶ Ποτλής, 549–50; NPNF, 2, vol. 14, 408).

84 E.g., Wortley, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales,* §3, 72–73: A monk makes a confession to an elder, who beholds a "most awe-inspiring and exceedingly glorious man who stood there, whose face was like lightning and his raiment white as light": "In his hand he was holding a document in which were written the sins of the man who was making his confession. He also had pen and ink; as the man told out his transgressions to my insignificance and before you all, this person crossed them out with the pen."

CHAPTER 5

Married Clergy in Eastern and Western Christianity

David G. Hunter

5.1 Introduction

The marriage of clergy in the Eastern and Western churches has been a controversial issue in the study of church history. Because clerical celibacy became an intense point of conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics during the Reformation, Western historiography on this topic has often been shaped by polemical concerns.[1] Likewise, at an even earlier time, the Eastern and Western churches diverged from each other on matters relating to clerical marriage, and this divergence was one of several issues that ultimately divided the churches in the 11th century. Today there remain a number of disputed questions about the origins and purpose of the different restrictions on clerical marriage adopted by the Eastern and Western churches. In this chapter I will examine the emergence of these diverse traditions within the first millennium, highlighting some of the historical questions that are still debated in contemporary scholarship.

5.2 Foundations: The First Two Centuries

There is no doubt that married couples served as apostles or missionaries within the earliest Christian communities. Despite some of the radical sayings of Jesus that enjoined the abandonment of home, wife, and family for the sake of the kingdom of God (e.g., Luke 18:29–30), it seems to have been common for the first apostles to bring their wives along on missionary journeys. As the apostle Paul noted, "Do we not have the right to be accompanied by a wife, as the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas?"(1 Cor 9:5). While Paul himself seems not to have been married at the time of his apostolic ministry, he mentions several couples who were active as apostles in his day, such as Prisca and Aquila and, perhaps, Andronicus and Junia (Rom 16:3, 7).

1 Edward Peters, "History, Historians, and Clerical Celibacy," in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, (ed.) Michael Frassetto (New York and London: 1998), 3–21. See also the historiographical introduction in Helen Parish, *Clerical Celibacy in the West: c. 1100–1700* (Burlington, VT: 2010), 1–13.

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By the early years of the 2nd century, it was increasingly common for Christian communities to be supervised by "bishops" or "overseers" (*episcopoi*), who were sometimes identified as "presbyters" or "elders" (*presbyteroi*), and assisted by "deacons" or "ministers" (*diaconoi*). Most of the early sources that mention these offices, such as the *Didache*, *The First Letter of Clement to the Corinthians*, and the letters of Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp, say nothing about the marital status of these clergy.[2] However, the three New Testament letters known as the Pastoral Epistles—1 and 2 Timothy and Titus—explicitly present marriage and family life among the criteria for holding the office of bishop, presbyter, or deacon.

In its list of the qualifications of a bishop, for example, 1 Timothy 3:2 specifies that the bishop should be "the husband of one wife" (*mias gunaikos andra*). Among the virtues required of a bishop, in addition to sobriety, temperance, and indifference to wealth, the author states: "He must manage his own household well, keeping his children submissive and respectful in every way; for if a man does not know how to manage his own household, how can he care for God's church?" (1 Tim 3:4–5). The Pastoral Epistles present similar requirements for deacons and presbyters, who are also expected to be "husbands of one wife" (1 Tim 3:12; Titus 1:6). Marriage would appear to have been the normal state of life for church leaders in the late 1st or early 2nd century, according to the Pastoral Epistles.[3]

But what did the phrase "the husband of one wife" mean? On this point scholars differ. Literally, the expression *mias gunaikos andra* can be translated as "a man of one woman" or "a one-woman man." This could refer to a prohibition of polygamy. But since polygamy was not legally accepted in the Roman Empire, it seems unlikely that such a prohibition would have been deemed necessary by the author of the Pastorals. The phrase could also mean that clergy were required to be married. This, too, seems unlikely, given the enthusiasm for complete sexual renunciation that already existed in early Christianity.[4] This leaves two possible interpretations. Either the phrase refers

2 The exception is Polycarp, Phil. 11:1–4, who mentions a presbyter named Valens and his wife, who were accused of avarice, but says nothing more.

3 Along with most scholars, I hold that the Pastoral Epistles were written in the name of Paul sometime between 80 and 120. For the later date see Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2: *History and Literature of Early Christianity*. 2nd ed. (New York and Berlin: 2000), 307–08.

4 For a different view, see Raymond F. Collins, *Accompanied by a Believing Wife: Ministry and Celibacy in the Earliest Christian Communities* (Collegeville, MN: 2013), 184–214, who argues that the author of the Pastorals did require marriage of the clergy.

in general to marital fidelity (i.e., the clergyman was expected to be faithful to his one wife), or it refers to the requirement of a single marriage (i.e., a prohibition of remarriage or digamy).[5]

There is no definitive way to resolve this exegetical difficulty. In favor of the latter interpretation is the fact that already in the 2nd century there existed strong Christian sentiment against remarriage. For example, in *The Shepherd* composed early in the 2nd century, Hermas noted that while remarriage after the death of a spouse was no sin, the person who abstains from a second marriage gains "greater honor and great glory with the Lord."[6] Similarly, Clement of Alexandria, writing at the end of the 2nd century, observed that the apostle Paul allowed remarriage for those Christians who could not control their sexual desires, but he admonished that such people "did not fulfill the heightened perfection of life according to the gospel."[7] Sentiments such as these led Christians eventually to expect that their clergy would abstain from second marriages; it is possible that such a view was already present in the Pastoral Epistles.

On the other hand, a considerable body of opinion favors the view that "the husband of one wife" is simply an endorsement of marital fidelity rather than a prohibition of second marriage. Several scholars have noted that the apostle Paul himself did not prohibit remarriage, even in view of the imminent parousia of Christ (cf. 1 Cor 7:9, 39).[8] Moreover the author of the Pastorals actually recommended that younger widows should remarry (1 Tim 5:14) and strongly attacked compulsory sexual asceticism (1 Tim 4:1–5). In light of this it seems unlikely that the same author would have required clergy not to remarry. Although most patristic writers later interpreted the phrase "husband of one wife" to exclude remarriage for the clergy, this opinion was not universal. Theodore of Mopsuestia, for example, endorsed the view that the "Paul" of the Pastorals taught that a bishop should be a man "who, marrying a wife, continued to live chastely (*sôphronôs*) with her, keeping to her and limiting the

5 For these four possible interpretations, see Luke Timothy Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible (New York: 2001), 213–14.

6 *Mandata* 4.4.32; (ed.) and trans. Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*. 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: 2007), 514–15.

7 *Stromata* 3.12.82 (GCS 52/2, 233). Cf. *Strom.* 3.1.4. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 31 (CSEL 2, 45), may also be referring to Christian opposition to remarriage: "unius matrimonii vinculo libenter inhaeremus, cupiditatem procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam." See also Athenagoras, *Legatio* 33.6, who refers to second marriage as "respectable-looking adultery."

8 Sydney Page, "Marital Expectations of Church Leaders in the Pastoral Epistles," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 50 (1993): 105–20; Collins, *Accompanied by a Believing Wife*, 190–98.

appetite of nature to her."[9] According to Theodore, the apostle did not intend to bar twice-married men from advancement to the episcopate.[10]

After the Pastoral Epistles the next author to deal explicitly with the topic of clerical marriage was Clement of Alexandria. In his collection of *Miscellanies* or *Stromateis*, Clement discussed the passages from the Pastoral Epistles that we have seen. Noting that both celibacy and marriage provide different forms of service (*leitourgia*) and ministry (*diakonia*) to the Lord, Clement observed, "the peculiar characteristic of the married state is that it gives the man who desires a perfect marriage an opportunity to take responsibility for everything in the home which he shares with his wife."[11] Several pages later he explicitly noted that this did not entail any restriction on conjugal relations: "[The apostle Paul] entirely approves of the man who is 'husband of one wife', whether he is a presbyter, deacon, or layman, if he makes use of marriage blamelessly. 'For he shall be saved by childbearing'."[12] Clement apparently had no difficulty approving of married clergy who remained sexually active with their own wives.

By the early 3rd century there is evidence that in some places clergy were expected to be married only once and not to marry after ordination, though Christian opinion seems to have been divided on the issue. In his *Refutation of All Heresies* Hippolytus complained that Bishop Callistus had allowed men to be ordained who had been married multiple times and that he had even permitted clergy to marry after ordination:

> [Callistus] propounded the opinion that if a bishop sinned, even a sin unto death, he need not be deposed. About this time bishops, presbyters, and deacons who were married two or three times began to be seated among the clergy. And if anyone in the clergy should marry, he allowed such a one to remain in the clergy, as if he had not sinned.[13]

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9 *Comm. in epistulam I ad Timotheum* (PG 66, 939); cited in Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*. Hermeneia (Philadelphia: 1972), 52. I have adopted the translation of Rowan Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: The Commentaries on the Minor Epistles of Paul* (WGRW; Leiden: 2010), 571.

10 Theodoret of Cyrrhus followed Theodore's interpretation in his own commentary on 1 Timothy 3:2 (PG 82, 805).

11 *Stromateis* 3.12.79 (GCS 52/2, 231); trans. Henry Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity* (LCC; London: 1954), 76.

12 Ibid., 3.12.90 (GCS 52/2, 237); trans. Chadwick, 82.

13 *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 9.12, (ed.) Miroslav Marcovich (PTS 25; Berlin and New York: 1986), 355.

Hippolytus was a rigorist, and it is possible that he, not Callistus, was the one advocating innovations in church practice. The most that can be said with historical certainty is that by the early 3rd century some Christians had begun to expect their clergy to have been married only once and not to marry after ordination, but that no universal policies had yet been established.

5.3 A Turning Point: The Third Century

The 3rd century marked a significant turning point, both in the development of the clerical offices and in the management of clerical marriages. This era witnessed an increased "professionalization" of the clergy that was evident across the Mediterranean world.[14] Latin writers, such as Tertullian and Cyprian at Carthage, the Greek author Origen of Alexandria, and the Syriac handbook of church regulations, the *Didascalia apostolorum,* give evidence of increased efforts to "sacralize" the higher offices of the clergy, especially that of the bishop. One symptom of this new development was the appearance of the language of "priest" and "levite" applied to the clergy. Bishops (and occasionally presbyters) were now regarded as "priests" and deacons were often styled as "levites." Cyprian of Carthage seems to have taken the lead in defining the "priestly" character of the clergy, arguing that "everyone honored with the sacred priesthood and appointed to clerical office ought to dedicate himself exclusively to altar and sacrifices and devote himself entirely to prayer and supplication."[15]

This new sacred language had implications for clerical marriage. Christian writers began to appeal to Old Testament prescriptions regarding the marriages of priests and to apply them, *mutatis mutandis*, to the marriages of clerics. Both the prohibition of second marriages and a custom of complete sexual abstinence began to appear as marks of a "priestly" identity for the clergy. Tertullian of Carthage was among the first to articulate the idea that strict monogamy (i.e., single marriage) was a characteristic of the clergy specifically

14 Georg Schöllgen, *Die Anfänge der Professionalisierung des Klerus und das kirchenliche Amt in der syrischen Didaskalie*, JAC Ergänzungsband 26 (Münster: 1998). Despite its title, Schöllgen's book gives ample attention to 3rd-century Latin and Greek authors before discussing the *Didaskalia*. See also Alexandre Faivre, *The Emergence of the Laity in the Early Church*, trans. David Smith (New York: 1990), 43–132.

15 Cyprian, *ep*. 1.1 (CSEL 3/2, 465); trans. Graeme W. Clarke, *The Letters of Cyprian*. vol. 1 (ACW 43; New York: 1983), 51. For a good overview of the topic, see Maurice Bévenot, "'Sacerdos' as Understood by Cyprian," *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 30 (1979): 413–29.

in their capacity as *priests*. Writing under the influence of the rigorist, apocalyptic movement known as the "New Prophecy" (aka, "Montanism"), Tertullian appealed to the single marriage required of clergy to advocate for a requirement of strict monogamy for all Christians:

> I observe that the old law also curtailed the privilege of repeated marriage. The warning is given in Leviticus: 'Let not my priests marry a second time'… But it was reserved for Christ to bring about the fulfilment of the law, in this matter as well as in others. Accordingly, then, with us the law, which requires that none but monogamists are to be chosen for the order of the priesthood, is more comprehensive in its scope and exacting in its details. So true is this that, as I recall, there have been men deposed from office for digamy.[16]

Tertullian's primary interest in the *Exhortation to Chastity* was to urge lay people to forego second marriages, but his point is that any Christian might be called upon to perform "priestly duties." Therefore, all are required to observe the priestly discipline of single marriage.

Tertullian, like Hippolytus, was an extremist, and his strictures against second marriages were not adopted by mainstream Christianity. But his argument presupposed that there was already a recognizable tradition, if not a requirement, of appointing only once-married men to the clergy, at least in the North African church.[17] In the concluding section of his *Exhortation to Chastity* he even suggested that this practice of strict monogamy had led many men and women to embrace compete sexual continence:

> How many men and women there are whose chastity has obtained for them the honor of ecclesiastical orders! How many who have chosen to be wedded to God! How many who have restored to their flesh the honor it had lost! They have already set themselves apart as children of the world to come by killing concupiscence and, with it, all else that has no place in Paradise.[18]

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16 *De exhortatione castitatis* 7.2 (CCSL 2, 1024); trans. William Le Saint, *Tertullian: Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage* (ACW 13; New York: 1951), 53. Tertullian's "quotation" from Leviticus does not appear in the biblical text.

17 Tertullian repeated the argument in his more extreme work, *De monogamia* 11–12.

18 *De exhortatione castitatis* 13.4 (CCSL 2, 1035); trans. Le Saint, *Treatises on Marriage*, 64. Tertullian's appeal to the total continence practiced by some members of the clergy (male and female) should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt. In his later book *On Monogamy* 12.3,

Tertullian's views may have been idiosyncratic, but they were a harbinger of things to come. The prohibition of remarriage would have naturally increased the number of unmarried clergy. While Tertullian's comment suggests that such men and women were still rare enough to be noticeable and to be cited as examples of outstanding virtue, it is evidence of an increasing association of "ecclesiastical orders" and the unmarried state.

The writings of Origen of Alexandria, who died shortly after the middle of the 3rd century, give further evidence that the practice of ordaining only once-married men was starting to become well established. In his homily 17 on Luke he observed, "neither a bishop, nor a presbyter, nor a deacon, nor a widow can be married twice."[19] Origen believed that a sharp distinction should be made between celibate and once-married Christians, on the one hand, and those who contracted second marriages, on the other hand. The former belonged to the Church "without spot of wrinkle" (Eph 5:27); the latter were not thrown into the eternal fire, but they did not have a share in God's kingdom. Such was the distinction that Paul made, Origen argues, when he discriminated between those who "were sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints" and those "who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. 1 Cor 1:2). Digamists belong in the latter category; they belong to a secondary grade of Christian, who are saved by calling on the name of Jesus, but who are not crowned by him.[20]

Despite his certainty that digamists are unworthy of the highest degree of salvation, Origen expressed some puzzlement about the practice of denying them access to the clergy. Why should there be a preference for those who have married only once, he asks, when it is possible that someone who has married twice may actually be more virtuous than someone who has married only once? He gave the following example: there may be a twice-married man whose wives have both died young. Such a man may have lived a long time in continence. On the other hand, a man who has been married only once may have lived a long time with his wife and never learned any self-restraint. Why should the Church insist on ordaining the latter and excluding the former? Origen responded to this question by appealing to the symbolic character of the marriages of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. These ecclesiastical officers are a "symbol (*sumbolon*) of true realities signified by these names."[21] The strict monogamy of the clergy represents on the earthly level the faithfulness of a

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he states that the "psychics" (that is, Catholic Christians) were willing to accept into the clergy those who had been married more than once.

19 *Hom. in Luc.* 17.10 (SC 87, 262).

20 *Hom. in Luc.* 17.10–11 (SC 87, 262).

21 *Comm. in Mt.* 14.22 (GCS 40, 336–37).

soul that remains true to Christ, her heavenly spouse. Origen's sentiment was later echoed by Augustine and others who maintained that the strict monogamy of clerics was an especially clear example of the "sacred significance" (*sacramentum*) found in marriage.[22]

Origen's teaching was prescient in another way. In several places he expressed his opinion that "priests" should remain perpetually sexually continent. For example, in a homily on Leviticus, when commenting on the special garments worn by Old Testament priests, Origen suggested that these were symbols of chastity. Although he noted that concessions were granted to Old Testament priests to produce children, Origen insisted, "I would not introduce such an understanding for the priests of the Church."[23] Priests and teachers were meant to produce children spiritually, as the apostle Paul indicated when he spoke of being in labor until Christ was formed in the Galatians (Gal 4:19).[24] Although Origen nowhere indicated that such a practice was a universal law in the Church, his view suggests that the practice of sexual continence of the clergy was becoming increasingly common.

Origen's linkage of priesthood and sexual restraint was based on the notion that sex and prayer were incompatible. We see this view expressed clearly in a homily on Numbers, where he cited Paul's exhortation to married couples: "Do not deprive one another, except by agreement for a time, that you may be free for prayer, and then come together again" (1 Cor 7:5). For Origen, Paul's statement implied that the effectiveness of prayer was impeded by sexual relations: "This is why it seems to me that the offering of a perpetual sacrifice belongs to that one alone who has pledged himself to perpetual and continual chastity."[25] Citing the same passage in his treatise *On Prayer*, Origen suggested that Christians should avoid praying in a place where sexual relations take place. If temporary abstinence is required for the sake of prayer,

22 Cf. Augustine, *De bono coniugali* 18.21, and the discussion below.

23 *Hom. in Lev.* 6.6.2 (SC 286, 292); trans. Gary Wayne Barkley, *Origen: Homilies on Leviticus 1–16* (FC 83; Washington, DC: 1990), 127.

24 *Hom. in Lev.* 6.6.3 (SC 286, 294). It is important to note that Origen sometimes used the category of "priest" to apply not only to the higher clergy, but also to the sage or charismatic teacher. See the discussion in Joseph W. Trigg, "The Charismatic Intellectual: Origen's Understanding of Religious Leadership," *Church History* 50 (1981): 5–19. According to Trigg, 12, Origen applied the notions of "priest" and "apostle" to the charismatic teacher as "a way to oppose the pretensions of official authority, which was rapidly appropriating these very symbols to legitimate episcopal authority."

25 *Hom. in Num.* 23.3.2 (SC 461, 118–120); trans. Thomas P. Scheck, *Origen: Homilies on Numbers* (Downer's Grove, IL: 2008), 142.

he argued, "then perhaps the same consideration should apply, if possible, to the place."[26]

Origen's sense of the incompatibility between sex and prayer (and, therefore, between marital relations and priestly functions) implied that even legitimate sexual relations conveyed some kind of "impurity" that impeded access to holy things. He presented this view explicitly in a fragment from a commentary on 1 Corinthians in which he appealed directly to Old Testament ritual prescriptions:

> You should know that the prayer of a man and woman who live in purity is not the same as the prayer of those who engage in sexual relations… Even Moses purified the people and said: 'For three days do not go near a woman' (Exod 19:15), so that after this period of purification they might be able to hear God. And in the Book of Kings, when the priest wished to offer the holy bread to David, who was fleeing from the deceit of Saul, what did the priest ask? 'Have the young men kept pure from women?' (1 Sam 21:4). And he was speaking not of foreign women, but of their own wives. Therefore, in order for someone to receive the 'bread of the Presence,' he had to be pure from women. And so, in order to receive the breads that are greater than the 'bread of the Presence'—those breads over which the names of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit are invoked—should not a person be even more pure, so that he might receive those breads truly for salvation and not for condemnation?[27]

Although in this passage Origen was not treating the question of sexual continence for the Christian clergy, his views on the "impurity" conveyed by sexual intercourse was to have implications for that issue. In subsequent centuries, Origen's theology influenced both Eastern and Western Christians. In the 4th century, for example, it was applied to the issue of priestly sexual continence in several writings of Jerome.[28] Origen's reading of 1 Corinthians 7:5 in the light

26 *De oratione* 31.4 (PG 11, 553); trans. Rowan Greer, *Origen* (CWS; New York: 1979), 166.

27 *Fr. 34 in I Cor.,* (ed.) Claude Jenkins, "Origen on I Corinthians," *Journal of Theological Studies* 9–10 (1908), 501–02.

28 Jerome, *In epistulam ad Titum* (PL 26, 568–69); *Adversus Iovinianum* 1.20 (PL 23, 238). The linkage of 1 Cor 7:5, Exod 19:15, and 1 Sam 21 is also found in the Latin *Testimonia ad Quirinum* 3.32, attributed to Cyprian (CCSL 3/1, 125–28). See David G. Hunter, "Asceticism, Priesthood, and Exegesis: 1 Corinthians 7:5 in Jerome and his Contemporaries," in *Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity*, (ed.) Hans-Ulrich Weidemann (Göttingen: 2013), 413–27.

of 1 Samuel 21, therefore, was to play a significant role in the justification of the Western discipline of permanent sexual continence among the higher clergy.

5.4 4th–5th Centuries: Developments in Western Christianity

If the 3rd century marked a turning point in the development of the clerical offices and the emergence of traditions regarding the strict monogamy of the clergy, the 4th century was no less significant for our topic. The rise of Emperor Constantine, whose reign marked the end of persecution and the beginning of a favored status for the Christian religion, was to have profound implications for the roles of the clergy, especially bishops, in late Roman society. Moreover, by the end of the 4th century, Christian monasticism, which had first appeared in the East at the end of the 3rd century, had begun to transform traditional ideals of Christian behavior and to impact expectations of clerical conduct. Furthermore we can begin to see a "parting of the ways" between Eastern and Western Christianities in the emergence of a discipline of complete sexual continence for the higher clergy in the West. By the end of the 4th century there is abundant evidence of attempts to impose this requirement on bishops, presbyters, and deacons. In this section, I will focus on developments in the Western Church and, in the next section, continue with the Eastern Churches.

It is customary to cite canon 33 of the Spanish council of Elvira as the earliest evidence of an attempt to require complete sexual abstinence of the higher clergy. The text of this canon reads:

> Bishops, presbyters, and deacons and all other clerics having a position in the ministry are ordered to abstain completely from their wives and not to have children. Whoever in fact, does this, shall be expelled from the dignity of the clerical state.[29]

29 Can. 33: "Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis, presbyteris et diaconibus vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio abstinere se a coniugibus suis et non generare filios. Quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur." Text in José Vives (ed.) *Concilios Visigóticos et Hispano-Romanos* (Barcelona and Madrid: 1963), 7. I have adopted the translation in Samuel Laeuchli, *Power and Sexuality: The Emergence of Canon Law at the Synod of Elvira* (Philadelphia: 1972), 130. A new critical edition of the canons has recently appeared: *I canoni dei concili della chiesa antica.* II. *I concili Latini. 3. I concili Spagnoli*. Vol. 1, (ed.) Franco Gori, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 137 (Rome: 2013).

Unfortunately, neither the date of the council nor the authenticity of its canons is entirely secure.[30] As early as the 18th century scholars had suggested that the eighty-one canons attributed to Elvira were the product of a compilation of disciplinary regulations derived from several synods. In 1975 Maurice Meigne reopened the question of the unity of the canons, arguing that the great number and diversity of the canons, as well as their internal inconsistency, indicated that the "canons of Elvira" were really a collection of several groups of canons from different times and places. According to Meigne, canon 33 on clerical sexual continence probably dated to the later 4th century.[31] Since the publication of Meigne's article, a vigorous debate has taken place, primarily within Spanish-speaking scholarship, over the question of whether the canons of Elvira were the unitary product of one council or a compilation from several synods. While the discussion has not yet reached a definitive resolution, opinion seems to favour the latter option.[32] Therefore, it seems prudent not to consider canon 33 a legitimate product of the early 4th-century Spanish church.[33]

This means that it is only in the late 4th century that we find undisputable evidence of efforts in the West to legislate perpetual sexual continence for the married clergy in higher orders. The impetus came primarily from the bishops of Rome, although other Western figures, such as Ambrose, bishop of Milan, Jerome, and the anonymous biblical commentator now called "Ambrosiaster" also described and defended the discipline. Despite this abundance of evidence, however, there remain unanswered questions about the precise purpose of the sexual continence requirement. Therefore, we must take a closer

30 For an excellent overview of the problems surrounding the supposed council of Elvira and its canons, as well as a history of the historiography, see Miguel J. Lázaro Sánchez, "L'état actuel de la recherché sur le concile d'Elvire," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 82/4 (2008): 517–46.

31 M. Meigne, "Concile ou collection d'Elvire?" *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 70 (1975): 361–87. Meigne's conclusions regarding canon 33 were accepted by Roger Gryson, "Dix ans de recherches sur les origines du célibat ecclésiastique: Réflexion sur les publications des années 1970–1979," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 11 (1980): 157–85.

32 See the recent discussion by Josep Vilella Masana, "Las sanciones de los cánones pseudoiliberritanos," *Sacris erudiri* 46 (2007): 5–87.

33 The same must be said of canon 29 attributed to the council of Arles of 314. It is one of several canons (25–29) that were added to the council of Arles in a few manuscripts, but are in fact derived from a Roman synod that took place in 386. See Roger Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique du premier au septième siècle* (Gembloux, Belgium: 1970), 190; and Stefan Heid, *Celibacy in the Early Church: The Beginnings of a Discipline of Obligatory Continence for Clerics in East and West*, trans. Michael J. Miller (San Francisco: 2000), 112, n. 64.

look at the actual texts of the 4th-century legislation in order to arrive at some clarity on the issue.

There are three letters attributed to Pope Siricius (385–99) that are relevant here. On February 10, 385 Siricius sent a letter to Bishop Himerius of Tarragona in response to a set of questions that Himerius had addressed to Pope Damasus, Siricius' immediate predecessor.[34] Damasus had died in December of 384, so the task of responding to Himerius had fallen to Siricius. In addition to dealing with questions such as the rebaptism of heretics, penance for apostasy, and the problem of illicit sexual relations between male and female monks, Siricius also had to address the issue of the sexual conduct of the married clergy:

> For we are told that many priests and Levites of Christ, after long years of consecration, have begotten offspring from their wives as well as in disgraceful adultery and that they are defending their sin on the ground that we read in the Old Testament that priests and ministers were allowed the privilege of begetting children.[35]

Siricius' initial response was to note that the clergy who defended their marital rights by appealing to the example of Old Testament priests were mistaken in their understanding of the sexual purity required in the old dispensation. Even in the Old Testament, Siricius argued, priests were required to spend the entire year of their temple service away from their homes. The purpose of this restriction was so that they would not engage in sex with their wives "in order that in the radiance of an upright conscience they might offer an acceptable gift to God."[36] When their period of service was over, they were allowed to unite again with their wives, but only for procreation because the law commanded that only men from the tribe of Levi could serve as priests.

After thus treating the question of Old Testament priests, Siricius turned to the question of Christian priests. Christ came to fulfill the law, not destroy it, he

34 A new critical edition has recently been published by Klaus Zechiel-Eckes and Detlev Jasper, *Die erste Dekretale: Der Brief Papst Siricius' an Bischof Himerius von Tarragona vom Jahr 385* (*JR 255*), MGH Studien und Texte 55 (Hannover: 2013). See also the recent commentary by Christian Hornung, *Directa ad decessorem: Ein kirchenhistorisch-philologischer Kommentar zur ersten Dekretale des Siricius von Rom,* JAC Ergänzungsband. Kleine Reihe 8 (Münster: 2011).

35 Siricius, *ep.* 1.7.8 (PL 13, 1138); trans. James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter* (New York: 1965), 703.

36 *Ep.* 1.7.9 (PL 13, 1138). There is no basis in the Old Testament for Siricius' claim about the priests spending one year away from their homes.

argues (Matt 5:17), and Christ desires that his Church should have her visage "shining with the splendor of chastity" (*formam castitatis … splendore radiare*):

> Hence all we priests and Levites are bound by the unbreakable law of those instructions to subdue our hearts and bodies to soberness and modesty from the day of our ordination, that we may be wholly pleasing to our God in the sacrifices which we daily offer. 'Those who are in the flesh,' says the vessel of election, 'cannot please God. But you are now not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if in fact the Spirit of God dwells in you' (Rom 8:8–9). And where but in holy bodies, as we read, can the Spirit of God have a dwelling-place?[37]

In response to the arguments of those Spanish clerics who cited the Old Testament priests as a precedent for their own marital activity, Siricius argued that the permanent sexual abstinence of a Christian priest "fulfilled" the merely temporary sexual continence incumbent on Old Testament priests.[38]

About one year later, after composing the letter to Himerius, Siricius presided over a synod of Italian bishops at Rome. A copy of the letter was sent to bishops who could not be present; it eventually found its way to Africa, where it was read and preserved in the records of the synod of Telepte (418).[39] Once again Siricius was faced with clergy whose conduct (he believed) threatened the "chastity of the Church."[40] He first listed a number of restrictions on those who wished to enter the clergy: men who undertook military service after baptism were excluded; clergymen were forbidden to marry widows or women previously married; clerics rejected by one church could not be accepted by another. Then Siricius addressed the question of sexual continence within marriage:

> Moreover we recommend that which is worthy, chaste, and honorable: priests and levites should not have intercourse with their wives, because ministers are occupied with daily requirements in their ministry. For Paul wrote thus to the Corinthians saying: 'Abstain, in order to be free for

37 *Ep.*1.7.10 (PL 13, 1139); trans. Shotwell and Loomis, 703–04, slightly altered.

38 Although Siricius' letter was addressed to Himerius, it was clearly intended for a wider audience. In the concluding section Siricius urged Himerius to distribute the letter to the bishops in neighboring provinces. See *ep.* 1.15.20 (PL 13, 1146), and the discussion in Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: 2001), 20–22.

39 Siricius, *ep.* 5 (PL 13, 1155–62) is dated January 6, 386. Critical edition in Charles Munier (ed.) *Concilia Africae. A. 345–A. 525* (CCSL 149; Turnhout: 1974), 59–63.

40 *Ep.* 5.1 (CCSL 149, 60): "… castitatem ecclesiae praesumptione violarunt."

> prayer' (1 Cor 7:5). If abstinence is demanded of the laity in order that they may be heard when they pray, how much more ought a priest to be prepared at every moment, confident in the purity of his clean state, lest he should either offer the sacrifice or be compelled to baptize. If he is contaminated by carnal concupiscence, what will he do? What excuse will he have? With what shame, in what state of mind will he take up [this service]? By what testimony of conscience, by what merit does he believe that his prayers will be heard, when it has been said: 'To the pure all things are pure, but to the corrupt and unbelieving nothing is pure' (Titus 1:15)?[41]

Siricius' argument in this letter differed somewhat from that in the letter to Himerius. Rather than appeal to the example of Old Testament priests, he cited 1 Corinthians 7:5, contrasting the temporary continence recommended to the laity with the permanent sexual continence required of the clergy. But in both cases his argument is essentially the same: sexual continence is necessary in order to maintain the state of purity required for priestly service, that is, for the efficacy of prayer.

There is a third letter sometimes attributed to Siricius, which must be approached with some caution. The decretal *Canones synodi Romanorum ad Gallos episcopos*, which appears as *epistula 10* in the standard collections of Siricius' writings, has also been ascribed at times to Damasus, as well as to Innocent I.[42] The attribution to Damasus was argued at length in the first critical edition of the letter by Ernest-Charles Babut early in the 20th century.[43] In his recent critical edition and study of the text, Yves-Marie Duval also argued that similarities between the papal letter and the writings of Jerome suggest authorship by Damasus, perhaps with the assistance of Jerome, who lived at Rome between 382 and 385.[44] More recently, however, Christian Hornung has compared the language and biblical citations of *Ad Gallos episcopos* with both the writings of Damasus and those of Sircius, concluding cautiously that Siricius was the likely author.[45] Critical opinion now seems to favor authorship by Siricius, and this view will be adopted here.[46]

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41 *Ep*. 5.9 (CCSL 149, 61–62).

42 PL 13, 1181–94; critical edition by Yves-Marie Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos: son texte et son auteur,* Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 73 (Leiden; Boston: 2005).

43 *La plus ancienne décrétale* (Paris: 1904).

44 Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos*, 1–7, 125–38.

45 Christian Hornung, *Directa ad decessorem*, 267–83. As Hornung observes, no further precision on the date of the letter is possible.

46 See also Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters*, 28–32.

Siricius began his letter to the bishops of Gaul by noting that "many bishops in various churches" had compromised their good name by daring to change "the traditions of the fathers."[47] After discussing the problem of virgins who had lapsed from their vows, he turned to the issue of the sexual continence of the clergy:

> In the first place, it has been established concerning bishops, presbyters, and deacons, who must be present at the divine sacrifices, through whose hands both the grace of baptism is conveyed and the body of Christ is consecrated: they are required, not only by us but also by the divine Scripture, to be most chaste, and the fathers have also ordered that they should preserve bodily continence.[48]

After presenting the regulation on continence, Siricius proceeded to offer a reason (*causam*) for the decree. How can bishops and presbyters dare to preach virginity and continence, if they themselves are busy producing children? He then cited a variety of passages from the apostle Paul: Romans 8:9 ("You are not in the flesh, but in the spirit"), 1 Corinthians 7:29 ("Those who have wives should live as though they had none"), Romans 13:14 ("Make no provision for the flesh in its lusts"), and 1 Corinthians 7:7 ("I wish that all were as I myself am"). Siricius then arrived at the following conclusion, posed as a rhetorical question: "The person who serves in the army of Christ, who occupies the seat of the teacher, can he not observe the discipline of this service?"[49]

Siricius' rationale thus far has emphasized the role of the clergy as models of sexual continence and the biblical grounds for the discipline in the teaching of Paul. But in the following lines of the letter he proceeded to offer an argument that echoed the earlier teaching of the letter to Himerius regarding the purity of temple priests and that of the letter to the bishops of Africa regarding the incompatibility of sex and prayer:

> And so for the three grades that we find in the scriptures, purity has been enjoined to be observed by the ministers of God, since it is always necessary for them to be prepared: for they must either administer baptism or offer the sacrifices. Will an unclean man dare to contaminate that which is holy, when holy things are for holy people? Accordingly, those who

47 *Ep.* 10.1.2 (PL 13, 1182; Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos*, 26).

48 Ibid., 10.2.5 (PL 13, 1184; Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos*, 32).

49 *Ep.* 10.2.5 (PL 13, 1185; Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos*, 32).

> offered sacrifices in the temple, in order that they might be pure, remained for the entire year in the temple precincts for the sole purpose of this observance, entirely neglecting their own homes.[50]

Siricius then proceeded to offer the example of pagan priests. Even idolaters practice sexual continence and abstinence from certain foods in order to sacrifice to demons, he argues:

> And you ask me if the priest of the true God, who is about to offer spiritual sacrifices, ought to be perpetually cleansed, or whether, being totally in the flesh, he ought to 'make provision for the flesh' (cf. Rom 13:14)? If sexual intercourse is pollution, surely the priest ought to stand prepared for his heavenly duty—for he is to intercede on behalf of the sins of others—lest he himself be found unworthy. For if lay people are told: 'Abstain for a time so that you may be free for prayer' (1 Cor 7:5), and if these [priests] are devoted to created things and to procreation, they can have a priestly name, but not priestly merit.[51]

Concluding his discussion of the "pollution" caused by the sexual intercourse of the married clergy with their wives, Siricius characterized such men as "corrupt and unbelieving" (Titus 1:15), persons "in whom the holiness of the body seems to be polluted by filth and incontinence." It is not right to entrust the *mysterium Dei* to such clergymen, for "flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God, nor will corruption inherit incorruption."[52]

Siricius' decretal letters have provoked an abundance of commentary. As the earliest examples of legislation on the sexual continence of the clergy, they offer crucial evidence of the development of the Western church towards the discipline of priestly celibacy. But modern scholars have differed in their interpretation of these regulations. Was it a type of "moral" or "ascetic" purity or was it a question of "cultic" or "ritual" purity? In the 20th century, this discussion took place primarily among Roman Catholic scholars who were concerned with the issue of clerical celibacy in the contemporary church. For example, around the time of the Second Vatican Council much historical work on the origins of clerical celibacy and sexual continence appeared. Scholars

50 Ibid., 10.2.6 (PL 13, 1185; Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos*, 32–34).

51 *Ep*. 10.2.6 (PL 13, 1186; Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos*, 34).

52 Ibid.

such as Jean-Paul Audet,[53] Edward Schillebeeckx,[54] and Georg Denzler[55] wrote studies that stressed the negative factors associated with the 4th-century legislation, such as the hostility to sex shown by many patristic writers. But the most common claim in this literature was that some kind of "cultic" or "ritual" impurity was the primary factor that inspired the practice of priestly sexual continence.

This argument was especially pronounced in the work of Roger Gryson, who provided the most detailed account of the continence requirement to emerge in the immediate post-conciliar period. In *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique* Gryson acknowledged that a variety of influences were at work, such as the rise of the monastic movement and a generally negative evaluation of sex among the Church fathers. But he argued that the requirement of priestly celibacy was founded primarily on a ritual or cultic taboo.[56] Sexual intercourse, Gryson suggested, was seen as the source of *ritual*, rather than *moral*, impurity and, therefore, as something that rendered a person unfit for offering the Eucharist. Prior to the 4th century, Gryson argued, many clergy practiced temporary abstinence prior to Sunday Eucharist, much as Orthodox clergy do today. The shift to a requirement of perpetual sexual abstinence occurred when daily Eucharist became common in the West. At that point, according to Gryson, the previous practice of temporary abstinence became a law of permanent abstinence; the priest now had to be in a constant state of ritual purity.

In the mid-1980s, Daniel Callam responded to Gryson's argument and maintained that there was little convincing evidence of daily Eucharist in the West in the 4th century; what little there is, Callam suggested, was the result rather than the cause of clerical celibacy.[57] Moreover, in an examination of the papal

53 *Mariage et célibat dans le service pastoral de l'église: Histoire et orientations* (Paris: 1967; reprinted Québec: 1999); trans. Rosemary Sheed, *Structures of Christian Priesthood* (New York: 1968).

54 *Het ambts-celibaat in de branding : een kritische bezinning* (Bilthoven: 1965); trans. Catherine Jarrott, *Celibacy* (London: 1968).

55 *Das Papsttum und der Amtszölibat*. 2 vols. Päpste und Papsttum, Band 5, 1–2 (Stuttgart: 1973); and *Die Geschichte des Zölibats* (Freiburg: 1993).

56 Cf. *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique*, 203: "Le principe qui se trouve aux origines de la loi du célibat ecclésiastique, est le principe de la pureté rituelle. Seuls ceux qui sont purs, peuvent avoir accès à la sphère du sacré. Or, le commerce charnel est une souillure. Il faut donc s'en abstenire avant de poser un acte religieux. Ce principe tient à une conception très negative de la sexualité, considérée comme quelque chose de purement animal, voire meme de bestial."

57 "The Frequency of Mass in the Latin Church ca. 400," *Theological Studies* 45 (1984): 613–50.

texts on priestly sexual continence, Callam argued that the overwhelming concern of the late 4th-century popes was for ascetic or moral purity, not ritual purity.[58] Although he noted many "ritual arguments" in the papal letters, Callam held that "the complete surrender of the rights of marriage is less likely to arise from the demands of cult than from an ascetical (or philosophical) exaltation of virginity and continence over marriage."[59]

Callam was certainly right to stress the moral or ascetical dimensions of the sexual continence requirement. As he observed, the 380s and 390s were a time of intense controversy in Rome over the relative value of marriage and celibacy, and the papal letters reflect these ascetic debates.[60] The spread of monasticism and other ascetic forms of Christianity was strongly influencing ideals of lay and clerical behavior. Nevertheless, we should not dismiss the "ritual" aspects of the requirement too quickly. As we have seen, Siricius' letters frequently invoked the language of "purity" and "impurity" and appealed explicitly to the requirement of ritual purity incumbent on priests in the Old Testament. His citation of 1 Corinthians 7:5, like that of Origen, suggests that some contamination or pollution is conveyed even in marital relations that renders prayer ineffective. Moreover, Siricius' explicit appeal to the "daily requirements" of sacramental ministry would seem to support the thesis of Gryson regarding sexual continence as a ritual requirement.[61]

Confirmation of this view is found in the writings of two contemporaries of Siricius who were engaged in the task of defending the continence requirement: the biblical commentator known as "Ambrosiaster" and bishop Ambrose of Milan. In his commentary on the Pauline epistles, composed at Rome in the

58 "Clerical Continence in the Fourth Century: Three Papal Decretals," *Theological Studies* 41 (1980): 3–50. A similar critique of Gryson's thesis was made by Henri Crouzel about a decade before Callam's study: "Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique: A propos d'un livre récent," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 92 (1970): 649–53.

59 Callam, "Clerical Continence," 49. An even more pointed critique of the ritual purity argument has been made more recently by Richard M. Price, "Zölibat II. Kirchengeschichtlich," *Theologische Realenenzyklopädie* 36 (2004): 724–25.

60 See also David G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford: 2007), esp. 207–42.

61 Both the proponents and the opponents of the "ritual purity" thesis tend to view "ritual purity" as something negative. There is need of a study that examines ritual purity in terms of its anthropological function of establishing hierarchy and defining the boundaries of a community. A good start has been made by Paul Beaudette, "'In the World by Not of It': Clerical Celibacy as a Symbol of the Medieval Church," in Michael Frassetto (ed.) *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York and London: 1998), 23–46.

later years of the pontificate of Damasus, Ambrosiaster, like Siricius, appealed to the temporary sexual continence observed by Old Testament priests as a precedent for the conduct of Christian priests:

> For the ancient levites or priests were allowed to have relations with their wives, because they spent much of their time free from the duties of ministry or priesthood. For there were a large number of priests and a great many levites, and each one served at the divine ceremonies for a fixed period of time, according to the procedures established by David (cf. 1 Chron 6:31–53) … So during the time when they were not required to serve at the altar, they were looking after their own households. But whenever the time for their ministry approached, they underwent purification for several days before going to the temple to make offering to God.[62]

After citing the Old Testament priestly precedent, Ambrosiaster turned to the Christian clergy and argued that they, too, were under similar restrictions of purity, but no longer had the opportunity to practice rituals of purification because of the daily demands of sacramental practice.[63] As a presbyter in the church at Rome in the later decades of the 4th century, Ambrosiaster was knowledgeable about the requirement of permanent sexual continence and familiar with its rationale.[64]

Similar confirmation can be found in Ambrose's discussion of clerical celibacy in *De officiis*, composed in 386. Addressing himself to clergymen who had entered the ministry prior to marriage and who were, therefore, forbidden to "defile themselves with any conjugal intercourse" (*nec ullo coniugali coitu violandum*), Ambrose noted that not all of the clergy were so observant.[65] Ambrose, like Siricius and Ambrosiaster, linked the discipline of clerical sexual continence to the practices of ritual purity observed by priests in the Old Testament. Like the priests of old who had to maintain temporary sexual abstinence for the sake of ritual purity, Christian priests had to maintain perpetual continence insofar as the Christian sacraments were the "fulfilment" of the ancient rituals.

The 4th-century writings of Siricius, Ambrosiaster, and Ambrose, therefore, present evidence of a new effort to require permanent sexual continence of the

62 *Commentarium in epistulam ad Timotheum primam 3:12–13* (CSEL 81/3, 269).

63 Ibid.

64 On the date and provenance of Ambrosiaster's writings, Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology* (Oxford: 2007), 12–17.

65 *De officiis* 1.249; text and trans. Ivor Davidson, *Ambrose: De officiis* (Oxford: 2001), 260–63.

married clergy in the West, at least those in the ranks of deacon, presbyter, and bishop. It is noteworthy, however, that both Siricius and Ambrose explicitly state that this new requirement was not universally accepted. Siricius indicates that the discipline was especially controversial in Spain and Gaul. Ambrose refers to a different tradition of temporary continence being practiced in "out–of–the–way places" (*abditioribus locis*). Since these three writers represent traditions of the cities of Rome and Milan, it is possible, as Roger Gryson has argued, that the new practice took hold first in the more important cities and partly as a result of the daily celebration of the Eucharist.[66] In any case, it is clear that the papal legislation was concerned solely to prohibit sexual relations between the higher clergy and their wives, not to dissolve their marriages.

Before proceeding to the Eastern evidence, there are two further restrictions on clerical marriages in the West that must be mentioned. As we saw above, from the 3rd century onward it was increasingly expected that the married clergyman would be "the husband of one wife"; that is, men who had been married more than once were not allowed access to clerical ranks. By the 4th century this restriction was present in the canon law of both the Eastern and the Western churches. There was, however, a significant difference between the Eastern and the Western interpretation of this discipline. Western writers, for the most part, considered a second marriage contracted before baptism as a legitimate marriage and, therefore, an impediment to ordination. The Eastern practice, by contrast, counted only marriages contracted after baptism.[67] The matter occasioned some controversy. Ambrose, for example, in *De officiis*, tried to explain the reason for the Western practice:

> A lot of people find this surprising: why should a second marriage, even one contracted before baptism, raise obstacles to a person's election to sacred office and to the privilege of ordination? After all, they reason, even serious crimes are not normally an impediment, once they have been remitted by the sacrament of baptism. But we need to understand this: just because sin can be forgiven through baptism, this does not mean that the law can be abolished. There is no sin in marriage, but there is a law. When we are talking about sin, we are dealing with something that can be relieved in baptism; when we are talking about the law in marriage, we are dealing with something that cannot be annulled.[68]

66 Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique*, 172.

67 Evidence for the eastern practice includes "Apostolic Canons" 17 and canon 3 of the Council in Trullo.

68 *De officiis* 1.248; text and trans. Davidson, *Ambrose: De officiis*, 260–61.

Although some Western writers, such as Jerome, favored the Eastern practice, the majority opinion in the West was that the marriages of the clergy were not nullified by baptism.[69] As Augustine noted early in the 5th century, the prohibition of a second marriage to the clergy did not have to do with sin, but rather with the sacred symbolism ("*sacramentum*") necessary for ordination. Following Ambrose, Augustine argued that because marriage was no sin, there was no reason that it should be nullified by baptism.[70] The matter must have remained controversial because a succession of 5th-century popes issued statements on the question. Innocent I and Leo I, for example, emphasized the permanence of the sacramental bond in clerical marriages as a reason for its perdurance through and beyond baptism.[71]

Finally, the requirement that a clergyman be "the husband of one wife" was eventually extended to include a parallel restriction on the wives of the clergy; that is, it was forbidden for a clergyman to marry a woman who had been previously married, whether a widow or a divorced woman. This regulation first appears in both Eastern and Western sources in the 4th century. In the West this restriction was mentioned as early as the Gallic council of Valentinum (374).[72] In his letter to Himerius Siricius also specified that a prospective clergyman who wished to marry before ordination could marry only a woman who was a virgin:

> Whoever then vows himself to the service of the Church from his infancy should be baptized before the years of puberty and given a share in the ministry of the readers. If he lives honorably from the period of adolescence to his thirtieth year and is content with one wife, whom he receives as a virgin through the priest with the general benediction, he should be made an acolyte and subdeacon.[73]

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69 Jerome attacked the opinion of Ambrose in *ep.* 69.3 to Oceanus (CSEL 54, 684), and Ambrose appears to have responded in *ep. extra coll.* 14.63 (CSEL 82/3, 268).

70 *De bono coniugali* 18.21.

71 Innocent I, *ep.* 2.6.9 (PL 20, 474–75); *ep.* 3.6.10 (PL 20, 493); *ep.* 17.2.5–6 (PL 20, 529–30); Leo I, *ep.* 12.3 (PL 54, 648); discussed in David G. Hunter, "Clerical Marriage and Episcopal Elections in the Latin West: From Siricius to Leo I," in *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity, 250–600.* (eds.) Johann Leemans, Peter Van Nuffelen, Shawn W.J. Keough, and Carla Nicolaye (Berlin and New York: 2011), 183–202.

72 Text in Charles Munier (ed.) *Conciliae Galliae 314–506* (CCSL 148, 37): "Sedit igitur, neminem post hanc synodum, qua eiusmodi illicitis uel sero succurritur, digamos aut internuptarum maritos ordinari clericos posse; nec requirendum utrumne initiati sacramentis diuinis, anne gentiles, hac se infelicis sortis necessitate macularint, cum diuini praecepti certa sit forma."

73 *Ep.* 1.9.13 (PL 13, 1142).

This requirement was based on Old Testament restrictions on the wives of priests. Leviticus 21:13–14, for example, had stated: "And he shall take a wife in her virginity. A widow, or one divorced, or a woman who has been defiled, or a harlot, these he shall not marry." Similarly Ezekiel 44:22 had specified regarding priests: "They shall not marry a widow, or a divorced woman, but only a virgin of the stock of the house of Israel, or a widow who is the widow of a priest."

The appearance of these "priestly" restrictions on the wives of clergy was a sure sign of an increasing "sacralization" of clerical ministry based on Old Testament models. But they were also susceptible to a specifically Christian interpretation. In the middle of the 5th century Pope Leo I explicitly linked the single marriage of priests and their wives to the *sacramentum magnum* of Christ and the Church:

> Who, then, would dare tolerate anything done to injure so great a sacrament when regulations concerning this great and venerated mystery were not lacking even in the divine Law? In them it is clearly set down that a priest is to marry only a virgin, and that she who is to become a priest's wife is not to have been married to another man. Even in those times the spiritual marriage of Christ and the Church was prefigured in priests, so that 'because a husband is head of the wife,' the bride of the Word might learn to know no other husband than Christ, who rightly chooses her alone, and marries no other but her.[74]

For Leo, the requirement of a single marriage, both for the priest and his wife, was a potent sign or *sacramentum* of the indivisible union of Christ and the Church, one evident even in the Old Testament dispensation.

It was, perhaps, this sense of the sacramental bond that led Leo to insist that clergymen and their wives should continue to live together in the same home. The evidence is found in a letter to Bishop Rusticus of Narbonne in response to a question regarding whether deacons could continue sexual relations with their wives. Leo answered that ministers of the altars (that is, deacons and subdeacons) were required to practice sexual continence, along with presbyters and bishops. But he added, "in order that a spiritual marriage may evolve from a carnal one, the proper course for them is not to put away their wives, but to have them as if they did not have them. Thus, while the love of spouses (*charitas connubiorum*) remains, the works of marriage (*opera nuptiarum*) are to

74 *Ep.* 12.3 (PL 54, 648); trans. Edmund Hunt, *Saint Leo the Great: Letters* (New York: 1957), 50–51.

cease."[75] As we will see shortly, the proposal for the married clergy to continue a common life in sexual continence eventually was considered unworkable both in Eastern and in Western Christianity.

5.5 Developments in Eastern Christianity: 4th–7th Centuries

In the Eastern Christian communities of the 4th and 5th centuries we find greater diversity than in the West, as well as the first signs of divergence between East and West on the matter of clerical discipline. Some of this was due to the fact that the East did not have the same kind of centralized authority that existed in the West in the see of Rome, as well as to the Eastern tradition of respecting the canonical decisions made in each region.[76] As time went on, however, the intervention of the emperors, such as Justinian I, and the development of ecumenical councils, such as the Council in Trullo, provided the Eastern Church with its distinctive traditions regarding the marriages of the clergy.[77] By the end of the 7th century, the disciplines that still characterize most of the Orthodox churches today—a celibate episcopacy and a married priesthood—had been ratified in the canons of Trullo. Thus the groundwork was laid for a significant difference of practice between Western and Eastern Christianity.

In the early years of the 4th century, this divergence would not have been immediately apparent. Some Greek bishops shared the enthusiasm of Origen for a priesthood devoted to total sexual continence. Eusebius of Caesarea, for example, in his apologetic treatise, *Proof of the Gospel*, dedicated several paragraphs to explaining the Christian enthusiasm for the ascetic life. While noting that marriage, procreation, and other earthly matters were acceptable for those in the "secondary grade of piety," those persons who have rejected procreation, property, and wealth can "perform the duty of a priesthood to almighty God for the whole human race" by means of their purified souls and virtuous deeds and words.[78] Because celibacy was a superior state of life,

75 *Ep.* 167.3 (PL 54, 1204); trans. Hunt, *Saint Leo the Great*, 292, slightly altered.

76 Basil of Caesarea, *ep.* 188.1 (PG 32, 664), stated this principle in his first canonical letter to Amphilochius: "It is necessary to follow the custom of each region" (δεῖ τῷ ἔθει τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν ἕπεσθαι).

77 By the "Eastern Church" or "eastern Christianity" I am referring to the Christian communities within the Greek-speaking territories of the east Roman or Byzantine empire. Only occasional reference will be made to Christian traditions outside of these regions.

78 *Demonstratio evangelica* 1.8 (GCS 23, 39).

Eusebius argued, even though 1 Timothy 3 prescribed that the bishop should be "a man of one wife":

> Yet it is fitting that those in the priesthood and occupied in the service of God should abstain from the intercourse of marriage after ordination. To all who have not undertaken this wondrous priesthood, Scripture almost completely gives way, when it says: 'Marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled, but God will judge the immoral and adulterous' (Heb 13:4).[79]

Like his master Origen, Eusebius viewed the ascetic life itself as a kind of "priesthood," even when practiced by someone not in ordained ministry. But in this instance it is clear that he favored the practice of sexual abstinence for members of the higher clergy. It is noteworthy, however, that Eusebius does not speak of any law governing the marriages of the clergy; rather, he presents his own view that such a practice is "fitting" (*prosêkei*).[80]

Around the middle of the 4th century bishop Athanasius of Alexandria attempted to recruit monks into the clergy, but it was not an easy task. In his letter to the monk Dracontius, Athanasius indicated that monks often found clerical duties to be a threat to their ascetic practice. He tried to persuade Dracontius that it was possible to observe celibacy and other disciplines in the episcopacy:

> For we know both bishops who fast, and monks who eat. We know bishops who drink no wine, as well as monks who do. We know bishops who work wonders, as well as monks who do not. There are many bishops who have not even married, while monks have been fathers of children; just as conversely we know bishops who are fathers of children and monks of the perfect kind.[81]

Athanasius' letter suggests that it was not common in the middle of the 4th century for bishops to be exemplars of ascetic behavior. While he acknowledged that there were "many" (*polloi*) bishops who were not married, his argument implies that it was more common for bishops to be married and to have

79 *Demonstratio evangelica* 1.9 (GCS 23, 42–43).

80 A similar view was taken by Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 12.25 (PG 33, 757), where he noted that the person who exercises the priesthood "well" (*kalôs*) abstains from his wife. But it is unclear whether Cyril was referring to temporary or to permanent abstinence. See the discussion in Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique*, 58.

81 *Ep.* 49.9 (PG 25, 533), dated to 354 or 355.

children. The text gives no indication whether they produced their children before or after ordination.

By the end of the 4th century another monastic enthusiast, bishop Epiphanius of Salamis, expressed his opinions regarding the marriages of clergy in his *Panarion* against heresies. Commenting on both the prohibition of remarriage and the practice of sexual continence, Epiphanius observed:

> Since Christ's incarnation, in fact, because of the priesthood's higher rank, God's holy Gospel does not accept men for the priesthood after a first marriage, if they have remarried because their first wife died. And God's holy church observes this with unfailing strictness. She does not even accept the husband of one wife if he is still co-habiting with her and fathering children. She does accept the abstinent husband of one wife, or a widower, as a deacon, presbyter, bishop and subdeacon, [but no other married men], particularly where the canons of the Church are strictly enforced.[82]

Epiphanius' comment is curious because, as we will see shortly, there are no extant canons in the Eastern church regarding the sexual continence of married clergy. The practice of strict monogamy was well established, but there were no regulations in the East that paralleled the prohibitions produced in the West by Siricius.

Epiphanius seems to be aware of the controversial character of his claim because he immediately presented and responded to the following objection:

> But in some places, you will surely tell me, presbyters, deacons and subdeacons are still fathering children [while exercising their office]. This is not canonical, but is due to men's occasional remissness of purpose, and because there is no one to serve the congregation.

Epiphanius then proceeded to give his own rationale for the discipline of sexual continence for the clergy:

> Since by the Holy Spirit's good appointment, the Church always sees what is fittest, she knows to take great care that God's services be performed 'without distraction' (1 Cor 7:35) and that spiritual functions be fulfilled with the best disposition. I mean that because of the offices and business which arise unexpectedly, it is appropriate that the presbyter,

82 *Panarion* 59.4.2–3 (GCS 31, 367), composed 376–78; trans. Frank Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, vol. 2 (Leiden: 1994), 105.

> deacon and bishop be free for God. If the holy apostle directs even the laity to 'give themselves to prayer for time' (1 Cor 7:5), how much more does he tell the priest the same—I mean to be unencumbered, leaving room for the godly exercise of the priesthood in spiritual employments?[83]

Several conclusions can be drawn from Epiphanius' comments. First, it is clear that his own preference is for a higher clergy that practices perpetual sexual continence. But it is equally clear that this discipline is not observed everywhere. As he notes, in places where there is no one else to serve the congregation, married men are often selected and not required to practice continence. His observation is reminiscent of Ambrose's comment that in "out–of–the–way places" presbyters and bishops do not observe strict sexual continence. Moreover, Epiphanius did not state his preference in absolute terms. That is, he states that "it is appropriate" (*hoti prepon esti*) for sexual continence to be observed for the sake of constant readiness for church services.[84]

Despite the preferences expressed by these ascetically-minded bishops, the canonical literature of the Eastern churches offers a much less ascetic (and, occasionally, even an anti-ascetic) perspective on the marital life of clerics. The council of Ancyra, held in 314, allowed that a deacon might marry after ordination, as long as he had declared to the bishop beforehand that he intended to marry.[85] A few years later the council of Neocaesarea took up the question of the marriage of a presbyter after ordination: "If a presbyter marries, let him be removed from his office; if he commits fornication or adultery, let him altogether be cast out and put to penance."[86] The council also stated that if the wife of a layman committed adultery, he could not be admitted to the clergy; if the wife of a cleric committed adultery after ordination, he must either divorce her or resign from the ministry (can. 8).[87]

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83 *Panarion* 59.4.4–5 (GCS 31, 367–68); trans. Williams, *Panarion*, 105.

84 Epiphanius presented a similar view of requirements for the priesthood in his summary of the Christian faith, the *Anacephalaeosis* or *De fide* 21.3–11, where he expressed his preference that candidates for the clergy be drawn from among monks or virgins, or at least from those who had given up sexual relations.

85 Canon 10; text in Périclès-Pierre Joannou, *Discipline génèrale antique* (*IIe–IXe s.*), 1/2. *Les canons des synodes particuliers* (Grottaferrata: 1962), 64.

86 Canon 1 (Joannou, 1/2, 75). The date of the council is sometime between 315 and 319; see Heinz Ohme, "Sources of the Greek Canon Law to the Quinisext Council (691/2): Councils and Church Fathers," in Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (eds.) *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500* (Washington, DC: 2012), 41–42.

87 The sexual sins of the clergy committed before ordination also were a matter of concern to the bishops at Neocaesarea: if a presbyter confessed that he had sinned carnally before his ordination, he was required to refrain from offering the Eucharist, although he was

When the Council of Nicaea met in May of 325, the attending bishops issued twenty canons. Only one of these canons appears to have dealt with clerical marriages. Canon 3 of Nicaea addressed the issue of clergy living with unrelated women: "The great synod completely forbids allowing a bishop, a presbyter, a deacon, and in a word anyone of the clergy to have a female companion (*suneisakton*),[88] except his mother, sister, aunt or anyone who stands above suspicion."[89] The absence of "wife" from the list of acceptable residents in a cleric's home has led some commentators to hold that this Nicene canon is specifying a requirement of celibacy for the clergy. This interpretation, however, is most unlikely. None of the later Western advocates of sexual continence for the higher clergy cites this text in support. Furthermore, it is addressed to all of the ranks of the clergy, whereas the later Western discipline was imposed only on bishops, presbyter, and deacons (and, later, subdeacons). The aim of the canon must have been to prevent unmarried clergy from living with unrelated women because of the danger of immorality that such proximity posed. It would not have been the purpose of the canon to separate legitimately married clergy from their wives.[90]

In connection with the Council of Nicaea the 5th-century Greek church historian, Socrates Scholasticus, told an intriguing story in which a distinguished, wonder-working bishop and confessor—Paphnutius, by name—is said to have intervened to prevent the council from prohibiting bishops, presbyters, and deacons to engage in sexual relations with their wives. According to Socrates, when such novel legislation appeared imminent, Paphnutius stood up and argued that not all of the clergy could bear the heavy burden of permanent sexual continence, that such a practice would provide dangerous occasions of sin, and that marital sex was worthy to be called "chastity" (*sôphrosunê*).[91] Citing Hebrews 13, Paphnutius is supposed to have stated that it was enough to prohibit marriage after ordination; those married prior to ordination should

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allowed to perform his other presbyteral duties (can. 9). The council also expressed its disapproval of second marriages among the laity by prohibiting presbyters to be present at the marriage of digamists (can. 7).

88 The term *suneisakton* is very difficult to translate. Literally it means "slipped in" or "surreptitiously introduced."

89 Canon 3; text in Giuseppe Alberigo (ed.) *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta: Editio critica*, vol. 1: *The Oecumenical Councils from Nicaea* I *to Nicaea* II (*325–787*) (Turnhout: 2006), 21.

90 For this interpretation, see Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique*, 91; and Peter L'Huillier, "The First Millenium: Marriage, Sexuality, and Priesthood," in Joseph J. Allen (ed.)*Vested in Grace: Priesthood and Marriage in the Christian East* (Brookline, MA: 2001), 30–31.

91 Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.11.4 (SC 477, 144).

not be separated from their wives. After the 1968 study of Friedhelm Winkelmann, however, most scholars have regarded the story as a pious fiction.[92] It was, perhaps, fabricated in the early 5th century in Constantinople in order to justify the Eastern practice in opposition to the new requirement of permanent sexual abstinence being imposed on clerics in the West.[93]

Of all the 4th-century councils the council of Gangra in Paphlagonia had the most to say about problems created by the ascetic movement, and this included clerical marriage. The council met sometime in the middle of the 4th century to deal with the radical asceticism being promoted by Bishop Eustathius of Sebaste in Armenia.[94] Eustathius had forbidden his followers to engage in sex or to eat meat (can. 1–2). He had thereby questioned the validity of the rituals conducted by married priests. To this issue the council responded: "If anyone separates himself from a married presbyter, claiming that it is not necessary to partake of the offering when he is celebrating, let such a one be anathema."[95] Both Eustathius' objection to married presbyters and the response of the Council of Gangra indicate that it was common for presbyters in the region of Armenia and Paphlagonia to be married and remain sexually active with their wives. Canon 4 will later be invoked in the disputes between Eastern and Western Christians over the validity of clerical marriage.

Around the year 380 in the region of Syria near Antioch, a collection of church regulations appeared known as the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This pseudepigraphic work is a compilation of three older church orders: the *Didache*, the *Didascalia apostolorum*, and the *Apostolic Tradition*. It also contains various liturgical prayer formulas, citations from scripture, and excerpts from the pseudo-Clementine literature. Attached to the final book is a collection of eighty-five regulations known as the "Apostolic Canons," many of which are

92 "Paphnutius, der Bekenner und Bischof," in Peter Nagel (ed.) *Probleme der koptischen Literature,* Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg (Halle: 1968), 145–54; *id.*, "Die Problematik der Entstehung der Paphnutioslegende," in Joachim Herrmann, Helga Köpstein, and Reimar Müller (eds.) *Griechenland—Byzanz—Europa: ein Studienband* (Berlin: 1985), 32–43.

93 For this view, see Roger Gryson, "Dix ans de recherches sur les origines du célibat ecclésiastique: Réflexion sur les publications des années 1970–1979," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 11 (1980): 164–65.

94 The date of the council is disputed. For a recent discussion see Andrea Sterk, *Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA; London: 2004), 27–35. An English translation of the canons of Gangra has been prepared by O. Larry Yarbrough, "Canons from the Council of Gangra," ch. 27 in Vincent Wimbush (ed.) *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Minneapolis: 1990), 448–55.

95 Can. 4 (Joannou, 1/2, 91); trans. Yarbrough, 451.

derived from the earlier synods of Antioch, Laodicea, and Nicaea, as well as from earlier portions of the *Apostolic Constitutions* themselves.[96] The great majority of the canons deal with the clergy, and, according to Heinz Ohme, they "filled a legislative vacuum in the formation of ecclesiastical institutions by collating, actualizing, and propagating the old normative texts and traditions."[97] As such, the "Apostolic Canons" and the *Apostolic Constitutions* as a whole provide a good picture of the state of clerical discipline in the East at the end of the 4th century.

Like the canons of the council of Gangra, the "Apostolic Canons" denounce the practice of asceticism when it is motivated by contempt for the created world:

> If any bishop or presbyter or deacon or anyone on the sacerdotal list abstains from marriage, meat, and wine, not because of ascetic practice, but out of aversion, forgetting that 'all things are very good' (Gen 1:31), and that 'God made mankind male and female' (Gen 1:27), but if he blasphemously rejects creation, either let him reform, or let him be deprived [of his office], or let him be cast out of the Church. The same holds for lay persons.[98]

Similarly, the canons forbid bishops, presbyters, and deacons to separate from their wives "under pretext of piety" (*prophasei eulabeias*).[99] If they do divorce them, the clergymen are suspended from office; if they persist in their conduct, they are deprived of office. In the 5th century the emperors Theodosius II and Constantius III entered this regulation into imperial law by forbidding clergy to separate from their wives.[100]

The "Apostolic Canons" also produced legislation regarding the second marriages of clergy: anyone who married twice after baptism or who had a

96 For a discussion of the genre and literary origins of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, see the introduction in Marcel Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*. vol. 1 (SC 320; Paris: 1985), 13–62; and Heinz Ohme, "Sources of the Greek Canon Law," 28–33.

97 "Sources of the Greek Canon Law," 32.

98 *Constitutiones Apostolicae* 8.47.51 (SC 336, 294). Cf. can. 14 of the council of Ancyra.

99 Ibid., 8.47.5 (SC 336, 276).

100 *Codex Theodosianus* 16.44.1 (issued at Ravenna, May 8, 420): "Chaste affection, moreover, demands that those woman who obtained lawful marriage before their husbands assumed the priesthood should not be deserted; for those women who have made their husbands worthy of the priesthood by their association are not unsuitably joined to clerics"; trans. Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, with the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, NJ: 1952), 448.

concubine (*pallakê*) could not enter any rank of the clergy.[101] There were similar restrictions on the kind of woman a prospective cleric might marry: no widow, divorced woman, harlot (*hetaira*), servant girl (*oiketis*), or woman from the theater.[102] Like the Western legislation on this matter, the Eastern practice was based on Old Testament regulations stipulating that priests could marry only women who were virgins. It was assumed that slave women and actresses would not have remained sexually pure. Of those who entered the clergy unmarried, only lectors and cantors were permitted to marry.[103]

The "Apostolic Canons" also incorporated previous rulings from the Council of Antioch (*c.* 330) regarding the property of clergy, especially bishops.[104] Bishops were not to give the revenues of the Church to their own families.[105] They were instructed to keep a clear distinction between their personal property and the goods of the Church, so that neither the Church nor the bishop's wife and children should come up short at the death of the bishop.[106] In an analogous ruling, canon 76 prohibited bishops from ordaining their own brothers, sons, or other relatives to the episcopacy.[107] Such ordinations were to be regarded as invalid and the ordaining bishop suspended. The danger of nepotism and the alienation of church property evident in these canons helps to explain the legislation of Justinian that we will examine shortly. The requirement of total celibacy for bishops, which emerged in the East by the 6th century, was an attempt to deal with the inevitable tensions between the familial responsibilities of the bishop and his ecclesial duties.

By the early 5th century there seems to have been an increasing expectation in some areas of the East that bishops would be celibate, or at least sexually abstinent, though it appears not yet to have become law. The famous case of the Neoplatonic philosopher and bishop, Synesius of Cyrene, presents an illuminating example. In a letter to his brother explaining his hesitations about accepting the office of bishop, Synesius clearly expressed his intention to remain with his wife and to produce children:

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101 *Constitutiones Apostolicae* 8.47.17 (SC 336, 278).

102 Ibid., 8.47.18 (SC 336, 280).

103 Ibid., 8.47.26 (SC 336, 280).

104 For the date of *c.* 330, rather than the traditional 341, see Heinz Ohme, "Sources of the Greek Canon Law," 44–45.

105 *Constitutiones Apostolicae* 8.47.38 (SC 336, 286).

106 Ibid., 8.47.40 (SC 336, 286–288). Cf. canons 24 and 25 of the Council of Antioch.

107 Ibid., 8.47.76 (SC 336, 302–04).

> God himself, the law of the land, and the blessed hand of Theophilus himself have given me a wife. I, therefore, proclaim to all and call them to witness once for all that I will not be separated from her, nor shall I associate with her surreptitiously like an adulterer; for of these two acts, the one is impious, and the other is unlawful. I shall desire and pray to have many virtuous children. This is what I must inform the man upon whom depends my consecration.[108]

Synesius proceeded to become bishop of Ptolemais in Libya and was consecrated by Theophilus of Alexandria in 410. He pursued his dream of producing children, although his sons died in the early years of his episcopate.[109] Several decades later the Church historian Socrates noted that in many parts of the East, the clergy abstained from sex with their wives, but he did not regard this as a universal law.[110]

Under Emperor Justinian, legal directives appeared regarding the conjugal lives of the higher clergy. Less than one year into office, Justinian issued a constitution forbidding men who had either children or grandchildren to become bishops. The reasons given were twofold: on the one hand, family matters were considered a distraction from the affairs of the Church; on the other hand, strong concerns were expressed about protecting church property from appropriation by the bishop's family.[111] The legislation subsequently specified that all property that came to a bishop after his consecration (with the exception of that given by close relatives) would pass to the Church upon his death.[112] Three years later a similar constitution was issued, forbidding the bishop to cohabit with a woman: the bishop was to have the Church for his wife and the whole Orthodox Christian people as his children.[113] It seems likely that Justinian's legislation simply codified existing practice and that there were few married bishops in the East by the middle of the 6th century.[114]

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108 Synesius, *ep*. 105; text in Antonio Garzya (ed.) *Synésios de Cyrène*. t. 3. *Correspondance: Lettres lxxiv–clvi* (Paris: 2000), 238; trans. Augustine Fitzgerald, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (New York: 1926), 199.

109 See *ep*. 16 to Hypatia (early 413), expressing his grief over the death of his sons.

110 *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.22.50–51 (SC 505, 230).

111 *Codex Iustinianus* 1.3.41 (42)0.2–4; text in Paul Krueger (ed.) *Codex Iustinianus* (CIC 2; Berlin: 1892), 26; given at Constantinople, March 1, 528.

112 *Codex Iustinianus* 1.3.41 (42)0.5–6 (Krueger, 26).

113 Ibid., 1.3.47 (48) (Krueger, 34); given at Constantinople, July 29, 531.

114 Cf. Peter L'Huillier, "Episcopal Celibacy in the Orthodox Tradition," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 35 (1991): 271–300, esp. 281–82.

In other respects, as well, the legal rulings of Justinian largely confirmed previous canonical regulations, sometimes adding secular penalties to the ecclesiastical ones. For example, a constitution of October 530 specified that presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons could not marry after ordination. In addition to loss of office, the children of such marriages were now to be regarded as illegitimate and deprived of inheritance rights, along with their mothers.[115] A later novel, however, omitted mention of the penalty against the wife and children and indicated only that the guilty party would be remanded to the local curia, along with his property.[116]

For the most part, the civil legislation repeated previous canons regarding the marriage of clergy.[117] The primary innovation in Justinian's legislation was its requirement that the bishop should no longer be living with a wife and should have no children. A major reason for this last regulation, it would appear, was the protection of the financial resources of the Church.[118]

Perhaps the most important event in the entire history of Eastern canon law was the Council in Trullo (691–692).[119] As Heinz Ohme has observed, the 102 canons issued by the council were "in some ways the final stage in the development of canon law of the early church":

> This was an attempt to reorder the spiritual and moral life of the Church with ecclesiastical law, arising out of an emergency in which Christian life and communities were being subjected to severe stress. The disasters

115 *Codex Iustinianus* I.3.44 (Krueger, 30–31).

116 *Novellae* 123.14; text in Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll (eds.) *Novellae* (CIC 3; Berlin: 1895), 604–05.

117 *Novellae* 6.1.3–4, 7; 6.5; 22.42; 123.12, 29; 137.1–2.

118 Cf. Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique*, 116: "… le motif de cette loi nouvelle apparaît clairement: il s'agit d'éviter que les évêques ne soient tentés de détourner les biens d'église au profit de leurs enfants." Justinian's prohibition against ordaining men with children was later abrogated by Novel 2 of Emperor Leo VI. See the discussion in Spyros N. Troianos, "The Canons of the Trullan Council in The Novels of Leo VI," in George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone (eds.) *The Council in Trullo Revisted,* Kanonika 6 (Rome: 1995), 189–98, esp. 189–90.

119 See also Chapter 3 of this volume. For the council's date, see Vittorio Peri, "Introduzione," in Nedungatt and Featherstone (eds.) *The Council in Trullo Revisted*, 18–20. The fifth ecumenical council was Constantinople II (553) and the sixth was Constantinople III (680–81). The term "Quinisext" (*penthektê*) was coined by the 12th-century canonist Balsamon (PG 119, 1163); see Nicolae Dură, "The Ecumenicity of the Council in Trullo: Witnesses of the Canonical Tradition in East and West," in Nedungatt and Featherstone (eds.) *The Council in Trullo Revisted*, 235–36.

> suffered by the Byzantine Empire in the course of the 7th century constitute the historical background.[120]

Among the disasters faced by the empire, the Arab invasions created a need to formulate a common law for communities living outside of imperial jurisdiction and under Muslim rule.[121]

On the issue of clerical marriage the council formally codified the essential elements of the previous Eastern tradition, especially the legislation of Justinian I, and explicitly signaled its divergence from Western practice.[122] Canon 13 of the Council in Trullo addressed the difference between Eastern and Western practice in the most direct way:

> Whereas we recognize that in the Church of Rome it has been handed down by way of canon that those who are to be ordained deacons or presbyters should promise to have no further intercourse with their wives, we, following the ancient canon of strict Apostolic observance and discipline, desire that the lawful marriages of holy men should henceforth remain in force. In no wise do we dissolve their union with their wives, nor prevent them having conjugal intercourse at appropriate times.[123]

The appeal to the "ancient canon of strict Apostolic observance" was an allusion to canon 5 of the "Apostolic Canons," which had forbidden bishops, presbyters, and deacons to separate from their wives "under pretext of piety" (*prophasei eulabeias*).[124] Canon 13 proceeded to argue that to force clergy to separate from their wives would amount to a mockery of marriage as an institution ordained by God. The canon cited Matthew 19:6, Hebrews 13:4, and 1 Corinthians 7:27 as biblical evidence of the goodness of marriage and the prohibition of its dissolution.

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120 "Sources of the Greek Canon Law," 79–80.

121 See David Heith-Stade, "Marriage in the Canons of the Council in Trullo," *Studia Theologica* 64 (2010): 4–21, who emphasizes the impact of the Arab invasions on the work of the Council in Trullo.

122 On the "conservative" character of the Council in Trullo, especially in its rulings on the second marriages of clergy, see John H. Erickson, "The Council in Trullo: Issues Relating to the Marriage of Clergy," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 40 (1995): 183–99.

123 Canon 13 (COGD 1, 239); trans. Michael Featherstone in Nedungatt and Featherstone (eds.) *The Council in Trullo Revisted*, 84. A new critical edition of the canons of Trullo has appeared: Heinz Ohme (ed.) *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum* (*Concilium Quinisextum*) (ACO, ser. 2, v. 2, pt. 4; Berlin: 2013).

124 *Constitutiones Apostolicae* 8.47.5 (SC 336, 276).

There is, however, a notorious textual problem with canon 13 and its reference to Western practice. Canon 13 invoked portions of several canons allegedly taken from a synod gathered in Carthage. These fragments were taken from the *Codex Apiarii causae*, a collection of African canons preserved by Dionysius Exiguus. However, the bishops gathered in Trullo relied on a faulty Greek translation of the original Carthaginian canons and, as a result, misconstrued their intention. Canon 13 of Trullo now reads (with the most problematic phrases placed in italics and the African canons placed in quotation marks):

> We know, however, that those assembled at Carthage, with care for the honest life of ministers, declared that 'subdeacons who handle the Holy Mysteries, deacons and presbyters should abstain from their spouses, *according to their own statutes*.' Thus, that which has been handed down through the Apostles and preserved from olden time, we likewise maintain being aware that there is a proper season for everything and especially for fasting and prayer. 'For it is fitting that those who assist at the altar should be absolutely continent *when they deal with Holy Things* in order that they be able to obtain from God what they ask in sincerity.'[125]

The portions in quotation marks are derived from canon 25 and canon 3 of the *Codex Apiarii causae*, but there are several departures from the original Latin text of the Carthaginian canons. First, Canon 13 applied itself only to subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters; it omitted bishops, who were explicitly included in canon 25 of the African text.[126] Second, the phrase in italics, "*according to their own statutes*" (κατὰ ἰδίους ὅρους in the Greek of the Council in Trullo), is an inaccurate rendering of the original Latin of canon 25, which reads "according to the prior statutes" (*secundum priora statuta*). In effect, the fathers at Trullo interpreted the Carthaginian canons as endorsing temporary sexual abstinence: "their own statutes" or "their proper statutes" would have referred to the Eastern custom of temporary sexual continence prior to liturgical worship,

125 Canon 13 (COGD 1, 239–40). I have adopted the English translation of Peter L'Huillier, "The First Millenium," 37–38, whose interpretation I follow here.

126 The original Latin of canon 25 reads (CCSL 149, 108–09): "Addimus itaque, fratres, carissimi; praeterea, cum de quorumdam clericorum, quamuis lectorum, erga uxores proprias incontinentia referretur, placuit quod et in diuersis conciliis firmatum est: subdiacones qui sacra mysteria contrectant diacones, presbyteri, sed et episcopi secundum priora statuta etiam ab uxoribus se continere, ut tamquam non habentes uideantur esse; quod nisi fecerint, ab ecclesiastico remoueantur officio."

whereas "the prior statutes" of the original Carthaginian text actually referred to permanent sexual abstinence prescribed by earlier North African synods.

There is a similar problem with the quotation from canon 3 of the Carthaginian text: "For it is fitting that those who assist at the altar should be absolutely continent *when they deal with Holy Things* in order that they be able to obtain from God what they ask in sincerity." The version in canon 13 of Trullo distorted the original meaning of the African canon. Canon 3 had applied to all those "who serve at the divine sacraments" (*qui sacramentis diuinis inseruiunt*) and explicitly included bishops.[127] At Trullo this was rendered as "when they deal with Holy Things" (ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων μεταχειρήσεως), that is, as a reference to temporary sexual abstinence. Again, it was not applied to bishops, but only to the married presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, who in the East were expected only to practice temporary sexual abstinence before liturgy.

The Council in Trullo, however, added an important qualification to its defense of the marital rights of clerics. While canon 13 decreed deposition for any ecclesiastical superior who attempted to deprive presbyters, deacons, or subdeacons of their conjugal privileges, canon 30 allowed that "in barbarian lands" a presbyter might be allowed to separate from his wife for the sake of sexual continence. The canon required, however, that couples who adopted sexual continence must no longer live together. The council acknowledged that this accommodation to the (Western) discipline of clerical sexual continence was a violation of canon 5 of the "Apostolic Canons," but granted it "because of the narrowness of their minds and the outlandishness and inconsistency of their manners."[128] The "barbarian lands" which canon 30 mentions must have referred to regions where the practice of permanent sexual abstinence had been introduced under Western influence.[129]

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127 The original Latin of canon 3 reads (CCSL 149, 101): "Aurelius episcopus dixit: cum praeterito concilio de continentiae et castitatis moderamine tractaretur, gradus isti tres, qui constrictione quadam castitatis per consecrationes adnexi sunt, episcopos, inquam, presbyteros et diaconos, ita placuit, ut condecet sacros antistites ac dei sacerdotes necnon et leuitas, uel qui sacramentis diuinis inseruiunt, continentes esse in omnibus, quo possint simpliciter quod a domino postulant impetrare, ut quod apostoli docuerunt et ipsa seruauit antiquitas nos quoque custodiamus." It is based on canon 2 of the Council of Carthage in 390 (CCSL 149, 13).

128 Canon 30 (COGD 1, 250): "διὰ τὴν τῆς γνώμης μικροψυχίαν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἠθῶν ἀπεξενωμένον καὶ ἀπαγὲς."

129 For this interpretation see Constantin G. Pitsakis, "Clergé marié et célibat dans la législation du Concile in Trullo: le point de vue oriental," in Nedungatt and Featherstone (eds.) *The Council in Trullo Revisted*, 285.

In addition to preserving the marital rights of presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, the Council in Trullo differed from Western practice in another way. Although it preserved the tradition enshrined in Justinian's legislation regarding the celibacy of bishops, certain modifications were made. Justinian had forbidden the election to the episcopacy of a man who was married or who had children or grandchildren. The Trullan legislation does not mention children and allows a married man to be selected, as long as he and his wife agree to separate before his consecration. Moreover, unlike Western practice, which allowed (and sometimes required) the married clergy to continue to share a common home with their wives, canon 12 of the Council in Trullo explicitly rejected this Western custom:

> It has also come to our knowledge that in Africa and Libya and other places the local bishops, most beloved of God, do not renounce living with their wives, even after their ordination, thereby causing offence and scandal to the people. Since, then, it is of great importance to us that everything should be effected for the benefit of the flock in our care, we are resolved that henceforth no such thing should be done.[130]

The fathers at Trullo proceeded to acknowledge, at least indirectly, that the separation of bishops from their wives violated canon 5 of the "Apostolic Canons," although they insisted that pastoral needs should prevail: "We say this not for the abolition and overthrowing of the Apostolic ordinances, but in order to provide for the salvation and progress of the people toward better things, and that no reproach may attach to the sacerdotal state."[131]

Another canon from the Council in Trullo further specified what should happen in the case of the election of a married bishop:

> The wife of one who has been promoted to the rank of bishop, having previously been separated by mutual consent from her husband, shall, after his ordination as bishop, enter a monastery situated far away from the episcopal residence, and she shall enjoy benefit from the provision made for her by the bishop; and if she proves worthy, she shall be promoted to the dignity of deaconess.[132]

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130 Canon 12 (COGD 1, 238); trans. Featherstone, *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, 82–83.

131 Canon 12 (COGD 1, 238); trans. Featherstone, *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, 83. It is also possible that some doubt surrounded the authority of the eighty-five "Apostolic Canons." Although canon 2 of the Council in Trullo included the "Apostolic Canons," the same canon rejected the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which were endorsed by the "Apostolic Canons."

132 Canon 48 (COGD 1, 264); trans. Featherstone, *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, 130.

Although the legislation of the council required the dissolution of the marriage of a prospective bishop, his wife was not allowed to remarry. In practice these canons of Trullo led to the custom of generally choosing bishops from among men who had already taken monastic vows. Similarly, the wife of the bishop-elect eventually was required to take vows as a nun.[133]

The remainder of the canons of the Council in Trullo regarding clerical marriage essentially confirmed the early legislation of Justinian and traditional Eastern practice. Canon 6 prohibited presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons from marrying after ordination; only readers and cantors were allowed to marry after entering their office. Canon 3 forbade those who had entered into second marriages from being ordained and required that the wife must not have been previously married. The legislation of Trullo, however, allowed a degree of "clemency and compassion" (*philanthôpia*, *sympatheia*) to those clerics who found themselves in illicit marriages. Those who had dissolved their second marriages or become widowed by the previous January 15 were allowed to retain their rank, but were forbidden to exercise the ministry. Those who had not yet dissolved their second marriages were deposed. In the case of those clerics married to widows or who had married after ordination, they were allowed to continue in the ministry after a suitable period of penance, but they were not allowed to advance in rank.

The discrepancies between the canons of the Council in Trullo and the practices of the Western church (not to mention the council's occasionally hostile references to Western customs) naturally affected their reception in the West, although the objections seem to have been based more on concerns about Roman primacy than about clerical marriage.[134] Pope Sergius I (687–701) refused to sign its decrees, as did Pope John VII (705–07). Eventually, however, Pope Constantine I (708–715), Pope Hadrian I (772–95), and Pope John VIII (872–82) accepted the canons, albeit with some qualification. For example, in 787 Pope Hadrian I declared in a letter to patriarch Tarasios, read at the Council

133 Cf. L'Huillier, "Episcopal Celibacy in the Orthodox Tradition," 283–84.

134 Can. 36, for example, had repeated the controversial legislation of the First Council of Constantinople (381) regarding the "equal privileges" of the see of Constantinople. The following studies offer good accounts of the reception and ecumenical status of the canons of Trullo: Peter Landau, "Überlieferung und Bedeutung der Kanones des Trullanischen Konzils im westlichen kanonischen Recht," in Nedungatt and Featherstone (eds.) *The Council in Trullo Revisted*, 215–27; Nicolae Dură, "The Ecumenicity of the Council in Trullo: Witnesses of the Canonical Tradition in East and West," in Nedungatt and Featherstone (eds.) *The Council in Trullo Revisted*, 229–62. See also the recent study of Ester Brunet, *La ricezione del concilio quinisesto* (*691–692*) *nelle fonti occidentali* (*VII–IX sec.*). *Diritto-Arte-Teologia* (Paris: 2011).

of Nicaea II: "I receive the six sacred councils with all the canons which have legitimately and divinely been promulgated by them."[135] By the 13th century the ecumenicity of the Council in Trullo was acknowledged in the West by canonists, such as Pope Innocent III and Gratian. In the East, however, the ecumenicity of the council was never in doubt, since it was generally considered a second session of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. It remains the foundation of Eastern canon law today.

5.6 Towards Celibacy: The Western Church in the Early Middle Ages

As the Eastern church developed its distinctive tradition of celibacy for bishops and single marriage for other ranks of the clergy, papal efforts to impose perpetual sexual continence on the higher ranks of the clergy in the West continued throughout the 5th and 6th centuries. Early in the 5th century Pope Innocent I (401–17) sent letters to Victricius of Rouen and Exsuperius of Toulouse that echoed the decretals of Siricius.[136] Synods in North Africa, Gaul, and Spain also repeated the legislation calling for permanent sexual continence by bishops, presbyters, and deacons.[137] Enforcement remained difficult because initially the married clergy were not expected to separate from their wives. As Pope Leo I had noted, "the love of spouses" was to continue even as "the works of marriage" ceased; Pope Gregory I (590–604) also expected that married clerics would continue to live with their wives despite the adoption of permanent sexual continence.[138]

From the late 4th century onward, however, the difficulties of this arrangement became evident, and regional synods made a variety of efforts to ensure that married clerics who continued to live with their wives would remain sexually continent. The domestic lives of clergy, especially bishops, became subject to increasing scrutiny by the laity and by their fellow clerics. In Gaul, for example, canon 16 of the Council of Agde (506) required that wives give their permission before their husbands were ordained, and they were banned

135 Cited in COGD 1, 211–12.

136 *Ep.* 2.9.12 (PL 20, 475–77); *ep.* 6.1.2–4 (PL 20, 496–98).

137 John E. Lynch provides a good overview: "Marriage and Celibacy of the Clergy: The Discipline of the Western Church: An Historico-canonical Synopsis," *The Jurist* 32 (1972): 14–38, 189–212. As Lynch noted, "The number of canons enacted during the Gallo-Roman period indicates both the resistance that the policy of continence encountered and the efforts of the bishops to impose the Roman discipline in their territories" (29).

138 See the comment of Pope Leo I cited above in n. 75; Gregory, *epp.* 1.42; 1.50; 7.1.

from the bedroom.[139] The Council of Arles (524) proposed a one-year trial of sexual continence before any layman was ordained presbyter or deacon.[140] The Council of Orleans (541) found it necessary to specify that "priests and deacons should not share a common bed or little cell with their wives, lest religious devotion be violated because of the suspicion of carnal intercourse."[141] Later in the 6th century canonical legislation prescribed that bishops should have other clergymen sharing their homes so that testimony to their continence would be at hand.[142] The Council of Macon (581) declared that no woman should enter the bedroom of a bishop unless accompanied by two presbyters.[143]

Similar laws appeared in Spain around the same time. The Council of Gerona (517) prescribed that married clergy from the rank of subdeacon to bishop were not to live with their wives, unless another brother was present to testify that the union was continent. Likewise, the Third Council of Toledo (589) required that clergy who were converts from Arianism (*venientes ex haerese*) were not to share a common bedroom with their wives and recommended that the wife be placed in another house, although it also noted that "conjugal fidelity was to remain between them" (*manente inter eos fide coniugali*).[144]

None of these strategies for enforcing sexual continence was totally effective. Ascetic bishops, such as Gregory of Tours, told stories of episcopal wives who returned to their husbands demanding their conjugal rights, sometimes with success, although he was also aware of other *episcopae* who were models of ascetic virtue.[145] The problem of enforcing the sexual continence of married clergy who continued to live with their wives was certainly one factor that led, eventually, to a preference for ordaining only unmarried men to the clergy.

139 Can. 16 (CCSL 148, 201): "Sane si coniugati iuvenes consenserint ordinari, etiam uxorum uoluntas ita requirenda est, ut sequestrato mansionis cubiculo, religione praemissa, posteaquam pariter conuersi fuerint, ordinentur."

140 Can. 2 (CCSL 148A, 43–44): "… nisi anno integri fuerit ab eis praemissa conuersio."

141 Can. 17 (CCSL 148A, 136).

142 Council of Tours (567), can. 13 (CCSL 148A, 180–81).

143 Can. 3 (CCSL 148A, 224).

144 Council of Gerona, can. 6 (Vives, 40); Council of Toledo III, can. 5 (Vives, 126–27).

145 *Historia Francorum* 1.44 (Bishop Urbicus of Clermont-Ferrand is seduced by his wife); 2.17 (the wife of Bishop Namatius of Clermont-Ferrand is distinguished for her piety and church-building). For these and other examples, see Brian Brenna, "'Episcopae': Bishops' Wives Viewed in Sixth-Century Gaul," *Church History* 54 (1985): 311–23; and Danuta Shanzer, "History, Romance, Love, and Sex in Gregory of Tours' *Decem libri historiarum*," in Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.) *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden: 2002), 395–418.

Gregory recorded that one bishop, Dalmatius of Rodez, specified in his will that King Childebert should not allow the see of Rodez to go to a stranger, a covetous man, or to anyone who was married.[146] As early as *c.* 460 the Gallic bishops Lupus of Troyes and Euphronius of Autun suggested to Talasius, the newly-appointed bishop of Angers, that it would be best not to ordain married men at all, if he was serious about curtailing the reproduction of priests' families.[147]

Over the next few centuries, enforcement of sexual continence in Western Christianity fluctuated wildly. The introduction of organized monastic life into the West via the *Regula Benedicti* provided a model of the communal ascetic life that eventually proved helpful in shaping ideals of clerical conduct. Monks frequently took the lead in attempting to reform the clergy and to restrict the practices of concubinage and clerical marriage. Boniface (*c.* 673–754), the famed Anglo-Saxon monk and missionary, was one such reformer, but he faced a daunting challenge. Writing to Pope Zachary in a letter of 742, Boniface observed that some priests and deacons enjoyed the company of four or five concubines at once and still managed to advance to the episcopate.[148] In the Carolingian period the Frankish kings and monks made common cause to enforce clerical discipline. One strategy was to foster the common life among the secular clergy. Chrodegang of Metz, for example, organized the clergy of Metz under a *Regula canonicorum*, an effort that was strongly supported by Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious.[149]

But the collapse of the Carolingian empire soon dissipated these efforts at clerical reform. The 10th and early 11th centuries witnessed the nadir of ecclesiastical discipline in Europe. Invasions by Vikings, Saracens, and Magyars disrupted social stability and political unity. The system of proprietary churches and practice of lay investiture encouraged clerical marriage and fostered the formation of clerical dynasties, in which church property became the inheritance of the priest's children. The problem was especially acute in rural areas where the help of a wife and children was more necessary in daily life, but clerical marriage and concubinage were practiced everywhere.[150] Related to

146 *Historia Francorum* 5.46.

147 *Epistula sancti Lupi et sancti Eufronii episcoporum* (CCSL 148, 140); cited in Lynch, "Marriage and Celibacy," 31.

148 *Ep.* 50 (MGH Epistolae 3, 300); cited in James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: 1987), 151.

149 Lynch, "Marriage and Celibacy," 34–36. See also Mayke de Jong, "*Imitatio Morum*: The Cloister and Clerical Purity in the Carolingian World," in Frassetto, *Medieval Purity and Piety*, 49–80.

150 Cf. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 215: "Sacerdotal dynasties were common, almost the norm, in some regions of eleventh-century Europe, and had been commonplace for centuries."

this was the problem of simony, the selling of church office and its corresponding benefices, which further implicated the clergy in the web of worldly activities and alliances. By the mid-11th century, it was widely recognized that fundamental reforms were necessary to emancipate the Church from secular influence. Simony, lay investiture, and clerical marriage were the primary targets of the reformers.

Inspired by the establishment of the monastery of Cluny in Aquitaine, which had been founded in 909 to be free of feudal obligations, the reforming popes of the 11th century (some of them former monks) undertook an active campaign to establish the independence of the Church and with it, for the first time, a genuine practice of clerical celibacy. As Richard Price has observed, a cast-iron law of clerical celibacy would have required both a formal exclusion of married men from ordination and a rule that ordination invalidated a previous marriage; neither of these occurred.[151] Nevertheless, throughout the 11th century conciliar legislation appeared that moved in this direction. For example, the council of Bourges (1031) required that the clergy should separate both from wives and from concubines, and similar legislation was repeated throughout the 11th century.[152] The failure to distinguish between legitimately married "wives" (*uxores*) and "concubines" (*concubinas*) was symptomatic of the agenda of the reform, which sought to emphasize the absolute incompatibility between marriage and the priestly office.

Matters intensified under the papacies of Leo IX (1049–54), Nicholas II (1059–61), and, especially, Gregory VII (1073–85).[153] It was reported that a synod of 1049 or 1050 under Leo IX had ruled that any "damnable women" found living with priests within the wall of Rome were to become slaves (*ancillae*) of the Lateran palace.[154] A Roman council of 1059 decreed that no one should attend

151 "Zölibat II," 727.

152 Bourges, can. 5: "Ut presbyteri, et diacones, et subdiaconi, sicut lex canonum praecipit, neque uxores neque concubinas habeant"; text in Johannes Dominicus Mansi (ed.) *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, v. 19 (Graz: 1960), 503. See also the council of Compostela of 1056, can. 6 (Mansi 19, 858); the council of Tours of 1060, can. 6 (Mansi 19, 927), and the council of Gerona of 1068, can. 7 (Mansi 19, 1071).

153 For Gregory's role see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "Pope Gregory VII and the Prohibition of Nicolaitism," and H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII and the Chastity of the Clergy," in Frassetto, *Medieval Purity and Piety*, 239–67, and 269–302.

154 Peter Damian, *ep.* 61: "In plenaria plane synodo sanctae memoriae Leo papa constituit, ut quaecunque damnabiles feminae intro Romana moenia reperirentur presbyteris prostitutae, ex tunc et deinceps Lateranensi palatio adiudicarentur ancillae"; text in Kurt Reindel (ed.) *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, v. 3 (Munich: 1989), 280. See also Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, a. 1049 (MGH Scriptores 5, 426). The acts of the synod are not extant.

the Masses of presbyters who had concubines.[155] Pope Gregory VII, who had served as an advisor to both Leo IX and Nicholas II, held synods at Rome in Lent of 1074 and 1075, which ruled that incontinent clerics could not celebrate Mass and that married clerics who did not separate from their wives immediately were to be deposed and deprived of their benefices.[156] Gregory dispatched legates all over Europe to announce the decrees in local churches and appealed to secular rulers for enforcement. In a letter to the dukes Rudolf of Swabia and Berthold of Carinthia from 1075, for example, Gregory noted that most bishops and archbishops failed to enforce the canonical decrees. Therefore, he urged, they should prevent any clergy who were guilty of simony or fornication from serving at the holy mysteries "even by force if it should be called for."[157] In some places, such as Milan, groups of the laity resorted to violence in opposition to clerical marriage and simony.[158]

The actions of Gregory and his reforming predecessors provoked a vigorous response from those clerics who had married in good faith and accepted ordination in expectation of keeping their wives. Many of them were the sons of clerics or were married to the daughters of clerics.[159] A lively pamphlet war ensued and passionate opinions were expressed in favor of married priests. Among the first to appear was the *Epistula de continentia clericorum*, attributed to Pseudo-Udalric in the critical editions, but whose date and author remain unknown. It was followed by the *Apologia contra eos qui calumpniantur missas coniugatorum sacerdotum* of Sigebert of Gembloux, letters of the clergy of Cambrai and Noyon, the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* (probably to be attributed to the archdeacon and future bishop Hubert of Thérouanne),[160]

155 Can. 3 (Mansi 19, 897–98).

156 Can. 11 (Mansi 20, 413). Gregory based this decision on an erroneous reading of can. 3 of the council of Nicaea regarding *mulieres subintroductae*.

157 *Ep.* 2.45; trans. H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085. An English Translation* (Oxford: 2002), 136. Gregory proceeded to tell them that, if the local bishops should object that it was none of their business, the dukes should refer the bishops to him.

158 For example, the Patarenes. See H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy, the Patarenes, and the Church of Milan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 18 (1968): 25–48.

159 As Christopher Brooke has observed, "the legislation of the eleventh-century Popes on clerical marriage must have produced as many broken homes and personal tragedies as the morals of Hollywood." See "Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050–1200," in his *Medieval Church and Society: Collected Essays* (London: 1971), 70.

160 As argued by Brigitte Meijns, "Opposition to Clerical Continence and the Gregorian Celibacy Legislation in the Diocese of Thérouanne: *Tractatus Pro Clericorum Conubio* (*c.* 1077–78)," *Sacris Erudiri* 47 (2008): 223–90.

and the treatise *Cum sub liberi arbitrii potestate creati simus.*[161] Also relevant are the treatises of the so-called "Norman Anonymous": *An liceat sacerdotibus inire matrimonium* and *Apologia pro filiis sacerdotum et concubinarum*.[162]

The arguments presented by the advocates of clerical marriage involved a mixture of scripture and tradition.[163] Pseudo-Udalric appealed to the Apostle Paul's discussion of marriage and celibacy in 1 Corinthians 7, where he acknowledged that he had no "command of the Lord" in the matter and indicated that "it is better to marry than to burn." He also noted the description of the bishop and deacon as "a man of one wife" in 1 Timothy 3: 2, 12 and observed that Jesus' words about "eunuchs for the kingdom" were meant only for an elite, for Jesus had added, "let him who is able to receive this receive it" (Mt 19:12). Pseudo-Udalric also mentioned the (apocryphal) story about the intervention of the confessor Paphnutius at the council of Nicaea, a story which (he believed) reinforced the conjugal rights of the married clergy. All of these arguments were to reappear in the later defenses of clerical marriage.[164] Later writers, such as the author of the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*, developed the argument from tradition, citing the evidence of the early canons of the Eastern churches, such as Ancyra and Gangra, which forbade married clerics to abandon their wives. He also invoked the writings of Siricius, Leo I, and Gregory I to verify that clergy were entitled to remain with their wives, despite being required to observe sexual continence.[165] The *Tractatus* also addressed the issue of priests' sons, who had been forbidden ordination as early as the council of Bourges (1031).[166] Citing the example of six popes from the 4th through the 6th centuries, who had been the sons of priests or bishops, as well as champions of orthodoxy, the author concluded that the proponents of

161 These texts have been collected and newly edited by Erwin Frauenknecht, *Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit,* MGH Studien und Texte 16 (Hannover: 1997), 173–288. On the letter of Pseudo-Udalric, see Leidulf Melve, "The Public Debate on Clerical Marriage in the Late Eleventh Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61 (2010): 688–706.

162 (Ed.) H. Boehmer, *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti,* v. 3 (MGH; Hannover: 1897), 645–55.

163 A good overview of the pro-marriage arguments can be found in Anne Llewellyn Barstow: *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh-Century Debates* (New York; Toronto: 1982), 105–55 and 157–73 (on the Norman Anonymous).

164 Frauenknecht, *Die Verteidigung*, 28–32, has examined the reception of the Paphnutius story in the 11th-century controversies.

165 Text in Frauenknecht, *Die Verteidigung*, 254–55, 260.

166 Can. 8 (Mansi 19, 504).

clerical celibacy were "adulterators of the *canones* and inventors of new traditions."[167]

Despite these efforts, it is clear that by the early 12th century the case for a married clergy was falling on deaf ears. In 1123 the First Lateran Council forbade clerics to live with concubines or wives.[168] Shortly thereafter, in 1139, the Second Lateran Council prescribed that no one should hear the masses of priests who had wives or concubines, and that the marriages of all clerics that had been contracted against church law should be dissolved.[169] Confirming the efforts of the 11th-century popes, these 12th-century councils formally established clerical celibacy by invalidating marriages contracted after ordination and prohibiting cohabitation. The reasons for the triumph of this policy are complex and include both the ancient concern for ritual purity and a desire to retain control over ecclesiastical property. But in the 11th century the battles against lay investiture, simony, and clerical marriage also had come to symbolize the struggle for the "vision of a free and uncompromised church, ruled by proper and inner obedience."[170] As a symbol of the medieval church,[171] the celibacy of the clergy came to represent sharper boundaries between clergy and laity and, ultimately, between the Church and the world. It was a vision that was irresistible to the papal monarchy of the Western church.

167 Frauenknecht, *Die Verteidigung*, 265; cited in Meijns, "Opposition to Clerical Continence," 237.

168 Can. 7: "Presbyteris, diaconibus vel subdiaconibus concubinarum et uxorum contubernia penitus interdicimus et aliarum mulierum cohabitationem, praeter quas synodus Nicaena propter solas necessitudinum causas habitare permisit…" (Tanner, 1.191).

169 Can. 7: "… praecipimus ut nullus missas eorum audiat, quos uxores vel concubinas habere cognoverit… statuimus quatenus episcopi presbyteri diaconi subdiaconi regulares canonici et monachi atque conversi professi, qui sanctum transgredientes propositum uxores sibi copulare praesumpserint, separentur" (Tanner, 1.198).

170 H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford: 1998), 553. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII and the Chastity of the Clergy," 284, has emphasized Gregory's divergence from the ritual purity arguments of Cardinal Humbert and Peter Damian toward a moral argument for clerical celibacy: "… he turned from the state of the individual clerk day by day as he ministered at the altar to focus upon the corporate, moral purity which befitted the Church as the bride of Christ."

171 I borrow the expression from Paul Beaudette, "'In theWorld but not of it': Clerical Celibacy as a Symbol of the Medieval Church," cited above in n. 61.

CHAPTER 6

The Imago Christi in the Bishop, Priest, and Clergy

Roger E. Reynolds

6.1 Introduction

Ever since New Testament times Christians of all kinds, be they clerics or laypeople, have been exhorted to be imitators of Christ and conform themselves to the *imago Christi.* For clerics especially this has had added meaning since they represent Christ in unique ways, be they bishops, priests, deacons, or even lowly lectors or doorkeepers. As early as the beginning of the 3rd century the Syrian version of the *Didascalia* exhorted the apostolic deacons to imitate the deeds of Christ:

> For we are imitators of Him, and hold the place of Christ. And again in the Gospel you find it written how our Lord girded a linen cloth about his loins and poured water into a wash-basin, while we reclined (at supper), and drew nigh and washed the feet of us all and wiped them with the cloth. Now this He did that He might show us an example of charity and brotherly love, that we also should do in like manner one to another. If then our Lord did thus, will you, O deacons, hesitate to do the like for them that are sick and infirm …

During late patristic and early medieval times, writers looked for events and sayings in the life of Christ corresponding to the obligations of the various ranks of clergy to legitimize or stamp these duties as Christic, dominical, or in the *imago Christi*. It was simple to see the *imago Christi* in the priest as he celebrated the Last Supper in the Mass or the deacon as he washed the feet of his brethren. But what of the other clerics? From the 4th century on, authors, usually anonymous, began to compile short lists of events and sayings in Christ's life paralleling—one might even say sanctioning—the duties and functions of each of the clerical orders. These short lists in many languages—Latin, Greek, Syriac, Old English, Old and Middle Irish, and even medieval Catalan—have been called the Ordinals of Christ.[1] These texts have been

1 The texts in Latin and other languages in this chapter, together with manuscript citations and bibliography, may be found in the following: Roger E. Reynolds, *Sacred Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Shifts in the Theology of the Lower and Higher Ecclesiastical Orders from Late*

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described as tags of an age long past, redolent of allegory, and scorned by theologians ever since the time of John Calvin's *Institutes*. But they happened to have been used in a myriad of different contexts in the Middle Ages—in ordination allocutions, liturgical commentaries, canon law collections, sermons, biblical commentaries, theological treatises, sentence collections, erotematic literature, *glossaria*, and in manuscripts as space fillers and *probationes pennae*, to mention but a few—and it is especially in them that one finds the most precious medieval representations of the clerics in the *imago Christi*.

Early on in the West these texts appeared in two forms, one of which that listed the clerics and their dominical sanction in the clerics' hierarchical order from top to bottom or vice versa. The other form listed the clerics in the order in which Christ in his lifetime performed the function of the cleric. As might be imagined, various events and sayings in Christ's life might be appropriate to the different grades of clerics. But the Last Supper was almost always attached to the presbyter and the blessing and laying of hands to the bishop.

Suddenly in the late 11th century, the bishop and his dominical sanctions were left out of these texts, and the dominical sanctions used for almost all of the grades had Eucharistic overtones. The reason was that the episcopacy had become an office, not a sacred order, and there was a new interest in the Eucharist, what it meant, and how it was to be handled.

This chapter will follow the development of these texts into the 12th century and a bit beyond to illustrate how medieval authors saw the *imago Christi* in the clerical orders of the Church.

6.2 Earliest Ordinals of Christ

The earliest Ordinal of Christ thus far found is in the 5th-century *Apophthegmata*, parts of which were later translated into Latin in the 6th century as the *Verba seniorum.*

Patristic Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages as Reflected in the Ordinals of Christ and Related Literature (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass., 1968); *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century,* Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7 (ed.) Horst Fuhrmann: Berlin-New York: 1978; repr. 2013); "Christ as Cleric: The Ordinals of Christ," *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot: 1999); "An Ordinal of Christ in Medieval Catalan," *Harvard Theological Review* 99 (2006): 103–110.

[*Apophthegmata* Ordinal]

> The other old man said: "Because of you," he said, "O man, the Savior is born. For this the Son of God comes, that you might be saved. God became man, remaining God. He is made a child."
>
> He is a lector. "Taking up the book, he read it in the synagogue saying, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and for this purpose he anointed me, and sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor'."
>
> He is a subdeacon. "Making a whip out of a rope, he cast everything from the Temple, sheep and cattle."
>
> He is a deacon. "Girding himself with a towel, he washed the feet of his disciples," instructing them to wash the feet of their brethren.
>
> He is a presbyter sitting in the midst of the teachers and teaching the people.
>
> He is a bishop taking the bread and blessing and breaking it, giving it to his disciples, et cetera.
>
> He is scourged, for you, and for us more. He is crucified, died, and on the third day rose again and is taken up.
>
> For us he took all things on himself. All things according to the dispensation, their order … all work in order that we might be saved.

The context in which the Ordinal of Christ is placed is reminiscent of the ancient theory of redemption laid out in the works of Irenaeus. Christ or God becomes man, in fact a boy, proceeds through the ecclesiastical grades of lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop through some action or saying, and afterwards suffers in the passion, dies, is resurrected, and undergoes all things for mankind.

Particularly noteworthy in this ancient Ordinal is the fact that there are five grades and that the dominical presbyter appears as a teacher and the dominical bishop as a Eucharistic officer. The five grades are those normative in the Eastern church. The dominical sanctions for the presbyter and bishop are perhaps reflections of the ancient position of the presbyters as the teachers, rulers, and councilors in the early church and the bishops as chief Eucharistic officers—something that was to change gradually as the presbyters became the normal Eucharistic officers and the bishop the sole governor and teacher within the Church.

From the 5th century throughout most of the Middle Ages in the Eastern church, the Ordinals of Christ remained relatively stable. There were generally five grades, although the episcopacy was at times expended to include such officers as the periodeutes, chorbishop, metropolitan, catholicus, and patriarch. Also, the dominical sanctions assigned to the presbyter and bishop came to reflect the change of chief functions of those orders.

6.3 Between East and West. Intermediate Ordinals of Christ

The first Ordinals of Christ of a distinctive Western type were very likely those of an Irish or Hibernian type in the 7th or early 8th centuries, but there are a few unusual Ordinals that may be bridges between Eastern and Western recensions. Although in manuscripts these intermediate Ordinals of Christ are generally considerably younger than those containing the Hibernian types and reflect an undeniably Western ecclesiastical hierarchy and dominical sanctions, they nonetheless reflect customs that were probably developing prior to the composition of the Hibernian forms. These intermediate forms can be divided into two groups, one that does not have the grade of gravedigger and one that does.

The first group is found in Autun, Lambeth Palace, and Colchester manuscripts, the last also appearing in the *Muchelney Breviary*.

[*Autun Ordinal*]

> What age was Christ when he was baptized? Twenty nine years of age.
>
> Where was Christ a lector? According to the Gospel of John, the Jews and the Pharisees said to one another, who sings the Psalms on the step? And Jesus said "Give me the book." And there he sang the Psalm and was lector there.
>
> When was Christ a doorkeeper? In Noah's ark, as he himself closes and opens the door.
>
> When was Christ a subdeacon? When he commanded the vessels full of water be made wine.
>
> When was Christ a deacon? When he washed the feet of his disciples and wiped them with a towel. This is the work of a deacon.
>
> And deacon or presbyter? On the day he laved [their heads?] he also took the offering and broke the bread and blessed the cup, giving it to his disciples. Then he was a deacon and a presbyter.

[*Lambeth Ordinal*]

> Here concerns the seven grades of the Church: Severus' answer concerning that which Christ fulfilled in his life.
>
> Question: Tell me, at what age was Jesus baptized with the baptism of the Jews after his birth? I answer that he was circumcised at the Kalends of January. That was the baptism of the Jews at that time; thereafter by John the Baptist.

Question: At what age then was he baptized? Answer: At the twenty-eighth year of his life.

Question: Tell me, did he fulfill the seven grades of the Church? Answer: Truly he did.

Question: Was he a bishop or a priest? Answer: Both roles and works are united in him. Taking the offerings, he broke the bread and blessed the cup. Thus he was in these grades.

Question: When was he a deacon? Answer: On that day when he washed the feet of his disciples and wiped them with the towel about his waist. Then was he a deacon.

Question: Tell me if he was a subdeacon. Answer: Surely he was. When he commanded his disciples to fill the vessels of water at the wedding in Cana of Galilee, turning water into wine, and his mother was there, and this on the days of Epiphany. Then he was a subdeacon.

Question: When was he an exorcist? Answer: When he rebuked a mad demoniac, who always fell into fire and water, which demon the disciples could not cast out. Then he was an exorcist.

Question: Tell me when he was a lector. Answer: Surely he was a lector, as he read the Law: "And as the Jews gathered they sat Jesus in their midst, and he received the book and began to read." Then he was a lector.

Thus, [he fulfilled] the seven grades in the Church.

[*Colchester Ordinal*]

The first order is that of doorkeeper, the second is lector, the third exorcist, fourth subdeacon, the fifth deacon, the sixth the presbyter, and the seventh the bishop. How does Christ fulfill these orders in himself?

He was a subdeacon when he made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.

He was a lector when he entered the Temple with the Jewish priests, found the book of Isaiah, and reading he said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and he has anointed me, etc."

He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

He was a doorkeeper when descended into hell, bursting the gates, saying "Lift up ye gates, etc."

He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet and wiped them with the towel, etc., because the disciples had no other baptism.

He was a presbyter when he blessed the five loaves and two fishes and satisfied five thousand men.

> He was a bishop when he raised his hands over the apostles and blessed them, saying "Receive the Holy Spirit, whose sins you remit, etc."

The first two texts, those from Autun and Lambeth Palace, begin with an erotematic setting and a question concerning Christ's age at baptism. They both list six grades and have similar dominical sanctions for the subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter-bishop. But there are significant differences. The Lambeth text numbers the grades as seven (although only six have dominical sanctions), gives Severus as "author," uses the Western grade of exorcist, and lists the grades in descending sequence from bishop down to lector. The Autun text gives no author, does not mention the exorcist, but includes the Western doorkeeper, jumbles the lector and cantor-psalmist, and confuses the deacon with the presbyter and the presbyter with the bishop. The unclear reference to the lavation of heads may be a reflection of the medieval notion that the baptism of the disciples came when Peter asked Christ to wash his head as well as his feet. The text in the Colchester manuscript and the *Mulchelney Breviary* begins by listing the grades in a typical Western fashion (doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop), but then begins the dominical sanctions with the subdeacon, followed by the lector, Western exorcist, and doorkeeper. The Eastern influences come in the placing of the subdeacon first, as was the case in an Eastern Ordinal of Dionysius bar Salibi, and in several of the dominical sanctions, such as that for the presbyter and bishop.

The second group of intermediate Ordinals of Christ, found in the *Malalian Chronicle* and manuscripts from Barcelona and Germain-des-Prés, lists the gravedigger, a strange vestige of patristic antiquity, who is sanctioned by Christ's raising of Lazarus.

> [Malalian Ordinal]
>
> Now as Isaiah foretold, "Surely he has born our sins and iniquities," and so "as a giant running through the road," it is fitting to show how he consecrates in himself and orders each of the grades of the Church, that is the six grades of office and altar: doorkeeper, gravedigger, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop. Christ fulfilled these six orders in the flesh.
>
> Now he was a doorkeeper when he opened the door of the ark and closed it.
>
> He was a gravedigger when he called Lazarus—four days stinking—out of the tomb.

He was a lector when he opened the book of the prophet Isaiah and, in the hearing of all, read it when the minister of the synagogue handed it to him.

He was a subdeacon when he carried water in a basin and spontaneously washed his disciples' feet humbly.

He was a deacon when he blessed the chalice and offered it to his disciples to drink.

He was a priest when he blessed the bread and accordingly handed it to them.

He was bishop, when in the Temple as one having authority, he taught the people about the kingdom of God.

Ephrem later called to mind the same thing.

[Barcelona Ordinal]

Concerning the seven orders of the Church that Christ held, that is gravedigger, doorkeeper, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop. But questions can be asked about these seven orders, which God established for his Church, such as how the author of life, Christ, fulfilled these orders.

He was a gravedigger when he raised dead Lazarus from the tomb and when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

He was a lector when he read in the Temple from the book of the prophet Isaiah and said, "The Spirit of the Lord is over me."

He was a subdeacon when he commanded water to be brought in the vessels and made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.

He was a deacon when he girded himself with a towel and washed his disciples' feet.

He was a presbyter when he took the bread in his holy and venerable hands, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples.

He was a bishop when he ascended into heaven and blessed his twelve disciples.

[Germain Ordinal]

On the seven grades of the Church, that is: gravedigger, doorkeeper, exorcist, lector, deacon, presbyter, and bishop. But it is to be asked if these seven orders, which are constituted in the Church of God, are established, or if and how they are fulfilled and illustrated in Christ, the author of life.

He was a gravedigger when he called out Lazarus from the tomb and resurrected him from the dead.

He was a doorkeeper when he burst the gates of hell and ascended to the heights.

He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

He was a lector when he read the book of Isaiah in the Temple, where he said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and anointed me."

He was a deacon when he girded himself with a towel and washed his disciples' feet.

He was a presbyter when he took the bread into his holy and venerable hands, broke it, and gave it to his disciples.

He was a bishop when he ascended into heaven and blessed his disciples.

In the first text the gravedigger follows the doorkeeper as the second grade, but in the other two texts his position is first. In these texts there are problems regarding the exact number of the grades—six or seven—and what they are, perhaps reflecting the same confusion found in the title to the late patristic Pseudo-Hieronymian tract, *De* vii [*sive vi/viii*] *ordinibus ecclesiae*.

6.4 Hibernian Ordinals of Christ

The first distinctively Western Ordinals of Christ are found in Irish texts and manuscripts—even in Middle Irish versification—and fall into two categories, those in which the grades are ordered according to the chronological sequence of fulfillment in Christ's life and those in which the grades are ordered according to a sequence of the actual ecclesiastical hierarchy. Hence, in the first group the grades are listed as lector, exorcist (reflecting a Romano-Gallican ordering with lector before exorcist), subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, doorkeeper, and bishop. In the second group the grades are listed as doorkeeper, exorcist (reflecting the influence of Isidore of Seville's ordering), lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop.

[Hibernian Chronological Ordinal]

Tell me how and when Christ fulfilled the seven grades of the Church.

Response: The first grade is lector, when he opened the book of the prophet Isaiah and said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me."

The second grade, exorcist, when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

The third grade, subdeacon, when he made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.

The fourth grade, deacon, when he washed the feet of his disciples.

The fifth grade, presbyter, when he blessed bread and broke it and gave it to his disciples.

These five grades Christ fulfilled before his passion.

The sixth grade, doorkeeper, when he said, "Open the gates, O ye princes, and be lifted up, O ye everlasting doors."

The seventh grade, bishop, when he raised his hands over his disciples' heads and blessed them.

[Hiberno-Hispanic Hierarchical Ordinal]

On the recapitulation of the seven grades, chapter ii. On the grades in which Christ was present.

He was a doorkeeper when he opened the doors of hell.

He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

He was a lector when he opened the book of Isaiah.

He was a subdeacon when he made wine from water in Cana of Galilee.

He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet.

He was a priest when he took the bread, broke it, and gave it them.

He was a bishop when he lifted his hands to heaven and blessed the apostles.

The similarities between the two Hibernian texts are clear. The dominical sanctions for the doorkeeper, exorcist, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter-sacerdos, and bishop are virtually the same in both versions. But what is most interesting is the dominical sanction for the doorkeeper, who is placed, in the Chronological version, not as the lowest grade, but as the second highest grade, between the presbyter and bishop. In the Chronological version, the use of an Old Testament verse placed in the mouth of Christ, Psalm 23 (24), seems to refer to the ascension through the heavenly gates by the cosmic redeemer after his passion. In the Hierarchical version, Christ is the doorkeeper when he burst the gates of hell probably reflecting the popular and particularly Hibernian-English notion of the harrowing of hell by Christ, who in the Nicodemian Descent into Hell carries on a dialogue with Satan in the words of Psalm 23 (24). It is clear that this verse from Psalms was understood by the Irish to refer

to both the harrowing of hell and the ascension, according to an Ordinal found in the Irish *Liber de numeris*, where it is said "Sixth, he was a doorkeeper when he burst the gates of hell and opened the gates of heaven and entered with glory."

Also interesting is the fact that the bishop seems to be sanctioned by Christ's action at his ascension. In the Chronological version, the words "over their heads" (*super capita*), which do not appear in Luke 24.50ff., may refer to Christ's bestowal of orders at his ascension. Such an interpretation is made explicit in a Middle Irish versification of an Ordinal of Christ where it is specifically said that he raised his hands to bestow the seven grades.

6.5 Carolingian Ordinals of Christ

By the end of the 8th century the two basic forms of Western Ordinals of Christ had been established in the Irish texts: the Chronological and Hierarchical. Throughout the Middle Ages, these two Hibernian forms were to be repeated, but with the beginning of the 9th century, they were being saturated with a multiplicity of variants, not a few of them Eastern, and reworked by Carolingian authors exercising their own ingenuity and inventiveness.

From their origins the Ordinals of Christ fulfilled a variety of functions. On the humblest level they could be used as space-fillers, practice pieces, and *probationes pennae.* At a slightly higher level they also served as wit-sharpeners or puzzles for monks or clerics. The "Tell me" (*Dic mihi*) of the Hibernian Chronological version in the Pseudo-Isidorian *Quaestiones sancti Hysidori tam de novo quam de vetere testmento* of Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 277 illustrates the Ordinals' affinity with erotematic literature, and indeed, the Ordinals of Christ were a basic component of the *Joca monachorum*, one of the most common texts in erotematic literature. But the Ordinals came to fulfill a role more important than simple space-fillers or wit-sharpeners. They were used in the education and inspiration of clerical ordinands, and when a cleric was ordained, he could be asked about the origins and duties of the grade he was to receive in terms of an Ordinal of Christ.

During the 9th century and beyond the older versions of the Ordinals of Christ continued to be reproduced and expanded. The popularity of the Hibernian Chronological version, with the explanatory interlude between the presbyter and doorkeeper did not wane, and the text is represented in a more or less pure form in at least eleven 9th-century manuscripts (as well as at least eight from the 10th century and beyond). But changes even in this form were being made. One of the most common changes was to omit the explanatory

interlude between the presbyter and doorkeeper, such as is found in the famous *Pater noster Book* of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 6330 and the Bobbio Missal. One of the more interesting examples of changes in these forms can be found in Parisian and Milanese manuscripts:

[*Ordinal of Paris BNF 2849A/Milan Amb. T 26 sup.*]

> Here begins the seven grades of the Church:
> The first grade is that of lector, when he opened the book of Isaiah.
> Exorcist, when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.
> Subdeacon, when he made wine out of water.
> Deacon, when he washed his disciples' feet.
> Presbyter, when he blessed the five loaves.
> Doorkeeper, when he opened the gates of hell.
> Bishop, when he raised his hands over the apostles and blessed them.

In this Ordinal of Christ the words "five loaves" in the presbyteral grade destroy the chronological consistency of the text inasmuch as the feeding of the five thousand took place before the *pedilavium* at the passion, which is assigned to the deacon. Further, Eastern influence cannot be ruled out in this sanction since it appears in two Eastern Ordinals of Christ.

The Hiberno-Hispanic Hierarchical Ordinal of Christ continued to be as popular as the Hibernian Chronological version in the 9th century and was spread wherever the ancient Irish *Collectio canonum hibernensis* and its derivatives were disseminated. But again, changes were being introduced. In the Cologne manuscript of the *Hibernensis*, for example, there is an interesting variant in which Christ was said to have been a subdeacon when he was obedient to his father and mother, perhaps a reference to the subdeacon's subservience to the deacon.

More unusual is an Ordinal of Christ in a 9th-century codex found in a Limoges manuscript written in northern France in the mid-9th century:

[Limoges Ordinal]

> Question: Was Christ a king and a priest (*sacerdos*)? Response: He was both. He was king, for he himself reigns and we are ruled by him. He was a priest when he offered himself as a burnt offering to God.
>
> Question: Was he a doorkeeper? He was. Question: When? Response: After his passion, when he opened the gates of hell and said, "Open ye gates, O ye princes."

Question: Was Christ an exorcist? Response: He was. Question: When? Response: When he cast out seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

Question: Was Christ an acolyte? Response: He was. Question: When? Response: When he preached to his faithful his gospel and said, "That was the true light that illumines all men coming into this world."

Question: Was Christ a subdeacon? Response: He was. Question: When? When he made wine from water in Cana of Galilee.

Question: Was Christ a deacon? Response: He was. Question: When? When he washed his disciples' feet and dried them with a towel with which he was girded.

Question: Was Christ a presbyter? Response: He was. Question: When? In the supper when he made the Passover of the Jews, and after he had supped, he took the bread into his holy and venerable hands, blessed and broke it, and communed with his disciples of his holy and new sacrifice.

The similarity of this version to that in the *Hibernensis* appears in the arrangement of the doorkeeper and exorcist, but the normal *Hibernensis* arrangement of the remainder of the grades has been completely changed, and both augmented and reduced with the addition of the acolyte and priest-king and the omission of the lector. The appearance of the acolyte is probably the first instance of this in an Ordinal of Christ before the 10th century, although there may be traces of one in an Ordinal of Christ in the *Collectaneum* attributed to Venerable Bede in the Migne edition of the text, which reports only "Acolythus fuit etc." Further, the appearance of Christ as priest-king is unique to the Ordinals of Christ, and the dominical sanctions for the doorkeeper and presbyter have been substantially changed from the *Hibernensis* text.

Not quite as unusual as the Limoges text is one still related to the *Hibernensis* version found in a Fleury liturgico-canonical manuscript:

[*Fleury Ordinal of Christ*]

Of the seven grades. Here are seven grades in which Christ was present.

He was a doorkeeper when he was in the Temple.

He was a lector when he opened the book of the prophet Isaiah.

He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

He was a subdeacon when he made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.

He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet.

He was a presbyter (*sacerdos*) when he offered his body on the cross.

> He was a bishop when took the bread, and blessing it, gave it to his disciples, and with raised hands blessed them, and after his resurrection he was taken to heaven from the Mount of Olives.

Unusual are the readings for the dominical sanctions for the presbyter and bishop. The presbyter's offering his body on the cross would become a commonplace in the Ordinals of Christ from the 11th century and beyond as well as in the Lucan reference for the bishop may refer to Christ's taking of bread, blessing it, and giving it to two of his disciples after the resurrection and to his ascension in terms of Luke 24:5 and Acts 1:12. But more important in this Ordinal is the modification of the arrangement of the lector and exorcist, which are placed in the Romano-Gallican sequence of orders that was being used in the 9th century in most texts describing the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This Romano-Gallican sequence of the Fleury Ordinal of Christ was eventually "canonized" in the Hiberno-Gallican Hierarchical Ordinal of Christ:

> [*Hiberno-Gallican Hierarchical Ordinal*]
>
> The order of the seven grades which Christ ascended.
>
> i. He was a doorkeeper when he beat down the doors of hell.
> ii. He was a lector when he opened the book of Isaiah the prophet.
> iii. He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.
> iv. He was a subdeacon when he made water from wine in Cana of Galilee
> v. He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet.
> vi. He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he took bread and blessed it.
> vii. He was a bishop when he lifted up his hands and blessed his disciples.

This text is found in numerous manuscripts from the 9th century and beyond, and pieces of it were incorporated into larger liturgical commentaries, such as the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz and the *Disputatio puerorum* attributed to Alcuin, where the grades were described following a Romano-Gallican sequence. The Western Ordinals of Christ of the 10th and early 11th centuries are largely repetitions of the more common Western forms: the Hibernian Chronological version, Hiberno-Hispanic Hierarchical version, and Hiberno-Gallican Hierarchical version.

6.6 English Ordinals of Christ

In England during this period, the Ordinals of Christ came to play an important role in a number of related pontifical manuscripts and in several liturgical commentaries in Latin and Old English. One Latin version of the English Ordinals of Christ is found in four 10th- and 11th-century pontifical manuscripts, the so-called *Egbert Pontifical*, the *Dunstan Pontifical*, the *Lanalet Pontifical*, and the *Anderson Pontifical*. In these the function of the Ordinals of Christ is clear. Before his ordination, the ordinand is reminded in a brief allocution of the dominical institution and example of his grade, together with statements on the origins and duties of the grades taken from the works of Isidore and the little treatise *De distantia graduum/De officiis vii. graduum*. Abstracted from this complementary material, the English Pontifical Ordinal reads:

> [*English Pontifical Ordinal*]
>
> On the seven grades of the Church which Christ fulfilled.
>
> He was a doorkeeper when he closed and opened Noah's ark and opened the gates of hell.
>
> He was a lector when he opened the book of the prophet Isaiah in the Jewish synagogue, and read, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me" etc.
>
> He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.
>
> He was a subdeacon when he blessed the water at Cana of Galilee and made it into wine.
>
> He was a deacon when he broke the five loaves for five thousand men and the seven loaves for the four thousand, or when he washed his disciples' feet.
>
> He was a presbyter when he took the bread into his holy hands, and also the cup, and looking to heaven to God his Father and giving thanks, he blessed them.
>
> He was a bishop when in the raising of his hands he blessed his disciples and apostles in Bethany and leading them out he was raised to heaven.

In two cases there may be traces of Eastern influence. For the doorkeeper there is both the harrowing of hell and the closing of the ark with its parallels in the Malalian and Lambeth-Autun traditions. Also, for the deacon there is both the *pedilavium* and the feeding of the multitude, appearing in both Eastern and Western Ordinals of Christ.

In a liturgical tract entitled *Heahhadas syndon* (*De ecclesiasticis gradibus*) found in three famous English manuscripts there is an Ordinal of Christ in Old English very much like that of the English pontifical manuscripts followed by an exhortation to clerics couched in terms of the Ordinal of Christ itself. In the Old English Ordinal itself there is some differences from that in the pontificals, the most notable and unusual being the omission of the harrowing of hell for the doorkeeper and the *pedilavium* for the deacon. In the Old English Commentary, which has an expansion of the Ordinals of Christ, it is notable that the acolyte has been added and the bishop omitted, both harbingers of things to come in Ordinals from the late 11th century on.

From the 11th century on elements from the English Ordinals of Christ were occasionally incorporated into larger tracts on sacred orders. Among the most notable instances are ones in a tract in Tortosa, Biblioteca Capitular 122, a palimpsested manuscript in Beneventan script over which the tract has been written in the 11th-century *Pontifical of Canterbury* and the 13th-century *Pontifical of Dublin*, Trinity College 218.

6.7 Italian Ordinals of Christ

Moving to Italy in the 10th and 11th centuries, one finds that Hibernian forms dominated, especially inasmuch as the *Collectio canonum hibernensis* was well known and copied there. The Hibernian Chronological Ordinal of Christ is found in a fairly pure form in two related groups of texts. The first appears in three closely related florilegial manuscripts with southern Italian provenances: Cava, Archivio della Badia della SS. Trinità 3; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional lat. 19; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7418. The other group is represented primarily in south Italian canon law collections of the 10th and 11th century, including the *Collection of Rome Biblioteca Vallicelliana Tomus XVIII*, the *Collection in Nine Books* of Vat. Lat. 1349, the *Collection in Five Books*, the *Liber multiloquiorum in Seven Books of Farfa*, the *Collection of Naples Xll.A.28*, and the *Collection of Vat. Lat.* 4977. Beyond these two related groups the Hiberno-Hispanic Hierarchical version of the *Collectio canonum hibernensis* appears in the canonical *Collection of Rome*, *Biblioteca Vallicelliana Tomus XVIII*, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LXIIL (61), Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 79 sup., the canonical collection of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 16.l5, and the canonical *Collection of Vatican Archivio San Pietro H* 58.

One of the most remarkable early Italian chronological Ordinals of Christ is found in an astronomical manuscript originally from Verona but now in the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua:

[Verona Ordinal]

On the seven ecclesiastical grades and how Christ is present in them.

Christ was a lector when he opened the book of the prophet Isaiah and read.

He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

He was a subdeacon when he turned water into wine.

He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet.

He was a doorkeeper when he opened the gates of hell.

He was an acolyte when after his resurrection he illumined the hearts of the disciples and they understood the Scriptures.

He was a bishop when he raised his hands over the apostles and blessed them.

The most unusual feature of this Ordinal is the inclusion of the acolyte—rarely found in Ordinals of Christ before the late 11th century—placed between the doorkeeper and bishop, rightly so because the dominical sanction of Luke 24:45 (which, in the Vulgate, does not mention illumination), the episode on the road to Emmaus, occurred after the resurrection.

The grade of acolyte appears also in another Italian manuscript, this time of the 11th century written in Beneventan script and found at Montecassino:

[Montecassino Ordinal]

On the eight grades which the Lord fulfilled. Eight grades did God fulfill: doorkeeper, lector, acolyte, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop

He was a doorkeeper when he said, "Lift up your gates, O you princes!"

He was a lector when he opened the book of the prophet Isaiah and said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me and he anointed me."

He was an exorcist when he exorcized and put to flight the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

He was an acolyte when he took the incense and the candle and said, "Part of my inheritance."

He was a subdeacon when he made wine out of water at Cana of Galilee

He was a deacon when he took the chalice and said, "This chalice is the blood of the new covenant."

He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he took the bread and blessed it, broke it and gave it to his disciples.

He was a bishop when he raised his hands over his disciples and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit, Whosever sins you remit, shall be remitted."

The arrangement of the grades is in the Romano-Gallican sequence, although in the manuscript itself there may have been some confusion in that the subdeacon was left out of the text itself and added later *in margine* next to the deacon. But the most significant aspect of the text is the addition of the acolyte, perhaps reflecting the importance of that grade in the liturgy of south Italy, especially in the Easter vigil ceremony. That this grade should be introduced is perhaps not surprising inasmuch as in the "sister" text of the Ordinals of Christ, the *De distantia graduum/De officiis vii. graduum*, the acolyte was added in a number of Italian manuscripts, including two Beneventan-script codices (London, British Library Additional 16413 and Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 451), the "Roman" codex (Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina 173; the latter two with the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*), and the Nonantolan manuscripts (London, British Library Harl. 2906 and Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Sessor. 52 (2096)).

The dominical sanctions for the acolyte in the Montecassino Ordinal of Christ are remarkable in that they do not seem to be historical events in Christ's life, the reception of the incense (which by extension might be thought to be the gift of myrrh to Jesus by the Magi) and *ceraptata* or wax candle, and the reference to Psalm 15(16):5, which is the verse usually cited for the clerical status alone. The gifts of incense and candle simply reflect the acolyte's ceremonial and processional duties, and the use of Psalm 15(16):5 may reflect one ancient Roman sequence of grades in which the cleric was the grade just below the acolyte.

With the completion of the Old English and Montecassino Ordinals of Christ a critical moment in the compilation of Ordinals in the Western church was reached. The ecclesiastical grades to which Western clerics were ordained were now set in the cursus of the old Romano-Gallican sequence, and all, including the acolyte, were assigned dominical sanctions. With the growth of new exegetical, theological, and legal methods of the late 11th and early 12th centuries, the time was ripe for a new period of fertility in the composition of Ordinals of Christ.

6.8 New Trends in the Ordinals of Christ in the 11th and 12th Centuries

New trends in the composition of Ordinals of Christ probably began in northern France, but were eventually to penetrate Italian Ordinals from the 12th century

and beyond. In the versions resulting from these new trends, many of the older dominical sanctions appear, the same basic number of ecclesiastical offices is used, and these offices are arranged in both hierarchical and chronological sequences. But in these versions, original dominical sanctions are added, new grades appear and older ones disappear, and the presuppositions underlying the hierarchical and chronological arrangements change. The contexts in which the new Ordinals appear are much the same as those of the earlier recensions. The Ordinal might be set apart from contiguous texts, but more and more the verses for each grade were separated and placed in longer tracts dealing with the theology or spirituality of sacred orders. Despite the great variety within them the new Ordinals of Christ of the late 11th century and beyond have, with some exceptions, three common structural characteristics. The Romano-Gallican sequence of grades is generally normative; the grade of acolyte is regularly assigned a dominical sanction; and the omission of the episcopal grade becomes commonplace, especially in non-canonistic contexts.

It is uncertain exactly when and where the new types of Ordinals of Christ originated, but two of its earliest and best representatives are in the works of a pair of liturgical and canon law experts who may have studied with Lanfranc at Bec. One of the works, the *Sermo de excellentia sacrorum ordinum et de vita ordinandum or Sermo II*, is attributed to Ivo, student at Bec, canon at Beauvais, and eventually bishop of Chartres. The other is in the works attributed to the enigmatic Norman Anonymous or the Anonymous of York, who may have been William Bona Anima of Rouen. It cannot be claimed with certitude that either of these scholars was the originator of the novelties that appear in these Ordinals. There may have been a common source or sources available in the later 11th century in northern France, and other scholars, such as Anselm of Laon, who originally studied at Bec and whose school reflects the new trends, may have taken part in the creation of the new texts. But since these trends in dominical sanctions and hierarchical and chronological presuppositions underlying the Ordinals appear most clearly in the works of Ivo and the Norman Anonymous, it seems appropriate to deal with them together and later to examine the combination of the new trends with the older traditions.

In Ivo's *Sermo II*, an Ordinal of Christ is mingled with texts from Isidore, the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, and other texts to form a tract directed to the *militia christiana*. Isolated from the *Sermo*, the text of the Ivonian Ordinal reads:

[Ivonian Ordinal]

> These offices are distinct in seven grades because the Holy Church is arrayed with a richness of septiform graces. These offices are shown in the

very person of our Lord, and he left them to the Church to be exhibited, so that the form preceded in the head may be represented in the body.

(Doorkeeper) Our Lord initiated this office for us when with a whip of small cords he overturned the seats of the money changers and cast out of the Temple those who bought and sold.

(Lector) Our Lord showed forth this office in his own person when in the midst of the elders he opened the book of Isaiah, reading distinctly and with understanding, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," etc. and that which follows in the same chapter.

(Exorcist) Our Lord used this office when he touched his saliva to the ears of the deaf man and said, "Ephthatha," which means "be open."

(Acolyte) The Lord is witnessed in this office in the Gospel, saying, "I am the light of the world. He who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will abide in the light of life."

(Subdeacon) The Lord makes use of this office when having supped with his disciples he girded himself with a towel and carrying a basin of water he washed his disciples' feet and dried them with the towel.

(Deacon) Our Lord makes use of this office when after the supper he confected the sacrament with his own mouth and his own hands, and dispensed them, and when he invited the sleeping apostles to prayer, saying, "Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation."

(Presbyter) Jesus Christ makes use of this office when after the supper he changed the bread and wine into his body and blood, and ordered his disciples to do the same in memory of his passion. With excellence is this manifested when as priest (*sacerdos*) and victim he takes away sin for humanity on the altar of the cross, and by his own blood brings peace between heaven and earth.

The sequence of grades is to be expected for the late 11th century, the Romano-Gallican. But "new" are the dominical sanctions, which may be entirely new or older ones, reused in different ways. The two sanctions for the doorkeeper, Christ's expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the Temple and John 10:9, "I am the door" (*Ego sum ostium*), were sanctions most appropriate in an age beset by the thieves and simoniacal heretics (*latrones et heretici simoniaci*) of the 11th century, those who bought and sold offices, and who should be kept outside the Christian sheepfold by Christ the door and doorkeeper.

While Ivo uses the common sanction for the lector, he is very original in his choice of the healing of the deaf-mute for the exorcist and in the use of the light of the world of John 8:12 for the acolyte (although the compiler

> of the Old English Commentary might have had the same thing in mind). When Ivo reached the upper grades of subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter he clearly wished to use dominical episodes connected with Christ's passion, and so in each grade there is reference to the Last Supper and some event therein. What Ivo's source was for this is difficult to determine, but it appears almost contemporaneously in the works of the Norman Anonymous.

Before Ivo's time the common dominical sanction for the subdeacon was the miracle at Cana. But this would have been an obvious misfit in a series of grades instituted by Christ at his passion. Hence, he used the *pedilavium*, found almost exclusively before the 11th century for the deacon, with its aquarian and Eucharistic features applicable to the subdeacon in his preparation of water for Eucharistic and baptismal rites. For the deacon Ivo used common sanctions, but he bolstered these by adding another episode from the passion, Christ's rousing the sleeping disciples. What Ivo's sources for the presbyter are is not clear, but it is significant that he divides them into two sections, one referring to the presbyter in his Eucharistic duties and the other to the Eucharistic *sacerdos*, an office shared by the presbyter and bishop alike. Also the ascension and session of Christ reflects the episcopal grade, which in the late 11th and 12th centuries was seen according to the old patristic presbyterian theory as one with the presbyter.

In the works of the Norman Anonymous there are two Ordinals of Christ. The first is in his Tractate J-11:

> [Norman Anonymous Ordinal A]
>
> It is read that in the night Christ was betrayed, he ordained them subdeacons, deacons, and priests (*sacerdotes*). Thus this office is used by him and first delivered by his example, command, and authority of these same offices.
>
> When he washed his disciples' feet he used the office of subdiaconate, and he said to his disciples, "I have given you an example that whatsoever I have done to you, that you do for each other." By this act he enjoins the office of the subdiaconate
>
> Truly the diaconate he fulfilled when he gave his body to them, saying, "Take this and divide it among yourselves." For to divide the body of Christ belongs to the deacons.
>
> Truly the priesthood (*sacerdos*) is attributed to him, when he commanded them saying, "This do in remembrance of me."

> This Christ did when he instituted the apostles giving them a mandatum and example. These are all the things that must be imitated.

Although the phraseology here differs to some degree from Ivo's, the ideas are the same. All of the dominical sanctions come from events in the passion, and the combination of *presbyter-sacredos* reflects an unusual patristic presbyterianism in the works of the Anonymous. Indeed, that there was no room for the dominical institution of the episcopacy is seen in a fuller Ordinal in Tractate J-19 of the Anonymous:

> [Norman Anonymous Ordinal B]
>
> First there was created the office of the diaconate, as we learn from the testimony of Holy Scripture, then that of lector, then later exorcist and acolyte, and then doorkeeper, and likewise, at the end that of the subdeacon together with the priesthood (*sacerdos*).
>
> He fulfilled the office of deacon when he began to preach and to exhort, "Repent for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."
>
> Thus, when entering the synagogue the book of Isaiah the prophet was given to him, he fulfilled the office of lector.
>
> Afterward he cast out demons from the bodily obsessed and illumined the blind, and thus he fulfilled the office of exorcist and acolyte.
>
> And thus, he first performed the office of doorkeeper before he entered the Temple and cast out the buyers and sellers.
>
> In the end he began to fulfill the office of the subdiaconate when at supper he washed the feet of his disciples.
>
> On the day wherein he first entered the office of priest (*sacerdos*), he took bread, and giving thanks, he blessed it and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take and eat"… etc.
>
> According to some, he entered the office of doorkeeper when he opened the gates of hell, releasing the captives from captivity, and opening the gates of Paradise, which afterward he did all things.

In beginning the Ordinal with the diaconate and with the insertion of the doorkeeper between the acolyte and subdeacon, the Anonymous was attempting a chronological scheme novel in the West. The deacon is sanctioned by Christ's first proclamation of the Kingdom of God (*regnum Dei*) of Matthew 4:17 and the doorkeeper by Christ's expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the Temple immediately before events in his passion. That is, the first five grades were sanctioned by events before his passion (*ante passionem suam*) and the subdiaconal and sacerdotal functions by events on Maundy Thursday. Clearly

the primary rationale for the Anonymous and for Ivo in their ordering of the grades and omitting the bishop reflects the resurgence of presbyterianism in the late 11th century, and the underlying rationale for the higher grades is the Eucharistic event of the Last Supper. Earlier it has been noted that in many chronologically arranged Ordinals of Christ before the 11th century, the underlying theme was a recapitulation theory, not unlike that used in the ancient theology of redemption. But in the late 11th century the presuppositions for both the theology of redemption and the theology of sacred orders were changing, and this is reflected in the Ordinals of Christ. No more were the cosmic *descensus-ascensus* and recapitulation theories normative. Rather, the sacramental presupposition in the theology of sacred orders in the 11th century became Eucharistic. George Huntston Williams demonstrated that in his ranking of the sacraments and his soteriology, the Anonymous was a throwback to the ancient baptismal presuppositions. However, in his theology of sacred orders, the Anonymous was as "modern" as Lanfranc, Anselm of Canterbury, and Ivo. The Anonymous knew of the old traditions—witness the added dominical sanction for the doorkeeper at the end of the Ordinal—but for him, the passion with its Eucharistic emphasis was the event in Christ's life around which all the grades were arranged.

With the exception of the lectorate, which is sanctioned by the usual citation of Luke 4, the "inferior" grades in this Ordinal of the Anonymous display unusual sanctions. His deacon is sanctioned not by a specifically Eucharistic sanction, but by a proclamatory one, reflecting one of the deacon's liturgical functions. The exorcist is bidden to expel the demons from those obsessed (*ex corporibus obsessis demones*), a sanction the Anonymous could have gotten from several ancient or contemporary Norman pontificals. The reference to the acolyte giving sight to the blind could also have come from ancient sources or contemporary Norman pontificals. For the doorkeeper, the old harrowing of hell (mentioned in the addendum to the Ordinal) would have been a misfit, but the expulsion of the buyers and sellers just before the passion suited the chronology of the Ordinal perfectly. Whether the Anonymous got this from Ivo or vice versa is not certain, but as will be seen, there was another early Norman archetype.

For the higher grades of subdeacon and *sacerdos*, the Anonymous could have borrowed from a number of sources. The miracle at Cana for the subdeacon and the blessing, fraction, and distribution of the bread for the *sacerdos* could have easily come from the Ordinal in the *Collectio canonum hibernensis*, a source the Anonymous clearly knew and used elsewhere in his tractates. While Ivo had allowed traces of the episcopacy to remain in his Ordinal, the Anonymous, thoroughly consistent in the Eucharistic presupposition of his theology of sacred orders, omitted all reference to an episcopal sanction. The presbyteral *sacerdos* is the highest grade of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

6.9 The 12th Century and Beyond: Ordinals of Christ with the Acolyte and without the Bishop

From the 12th century and beyond the innovations reflected in the works of Ivo and the Norman Anonymous were quickly combined with older Western Ordinals of Christ, and from the resultant mixtures two general groups of texts emerge. There is first a large collection of Ordinals in which the grade of acolyte is added together with new sanctions for the other grades. There is a second large group to which the acolyte and new sanctions are added, but in which the episcopate as a dominically sanctioned grade is omitted. A number of Ordinals of Christ from both of these groups will be presented here together with brief commentaries on their peculiarities.

One of the earliest canonical collections in the 12th century to contain an Ordinal of Christ with both acolyte and bishop is the *Collection of Victor*, now in a manuscript from the Bibliothèque Arsenal in Paris:

> [Arsenal Ordinal]
>
> From the words of Bishop Isidore. Bishop for God showed all the grades in the selfsame Church previously exhibited.
>
> He was a doorkeeper when he descended into hell and broke open the doors, saying, "Lift up your gates, O ye princes…" etc.
>
> He was a lector when in the presence of the priests of the Jews he entered the Temple and came upon the book of the prophet Isaiah and read saying, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," and the rest.
>
> He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.
>
> He was an acolyte when he said he himself was the light of the world, and when he said "He who follows me…"
>
> He was a subdeacon when he turned the water into wine in Cana of Galilee.
>
> He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet and dried them with the towel that was girded about him.
>
> He was a presbyter when he blessed the five loaves and two fishes, and in the presence of his disciples he blessed the bread and wine calling them his body and his blood.
>
> Moreover was he a bishop when he breathed in the face of his disciples, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," and at Pentecost when he sent the Spirit the Paraclete, upon them.
>
> Or a pontiff, when he offered himself unblemished upon the altar of the cross.

Despite the fact that the canonical collection in which it is found has a dearth of Ivonian material, the influence of Ivo's Ordinal can be seen in the acolyte and perhaps the pontifex. But much more interesting is the fact that for the remainder of the grades the compiler seems to be following a source like that of the Intermediate Colchester Ordinal.

Another Ordinal with links to the Arsenal and Colchester Ordinals is found in an addendum to the *Liber Quare*, *a* commentary on liturgical matters going back to at least 1070. Abstracted from other materials surrounding the Ordinal the text reads:

> [*Liber Quare* Addendum]
>
> This is the sentence on the eight orders; namely, the first grade is that of doorkeeper, the second lector, the third exorcist, the fourth acolyte, the fifth subdeacon, the sixth deacon, the seventh presbyter, and the eighth bishop. These are the seven grades Christ fulfilled.
>
> He was a doorkeeper when he descended into hell and broke open the doors, saying "Open the gates," etc. He was also a doorkeeper when he cast out the buyers and sellers in the Temple.
>
> He was a lector when in the presence of the priests of the Jews he entered the Temple and came upon the book of the prophet Isaiah, saying as he read, "The Spirit of the Lord came upon me…" etc.
>
> He was an exorcist when he cast the seven demons out of Mary Magdalene.
>
> He was an acolyte when he said of himself he was the light of the world, and when he said "He who follows me will walk…" etc.
>
> He was a subdeacon when he turned water into wine in Cana of Galilee.
>
> He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet and dried them with the towel that was gird about him.
>
> He was a presbyter when he blessed the five loaves and two fishes.
>
> He was a bishop when he breathed in the faces of his disciples, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," and at Pentecost when he sent the Holy Spirit.
>
> Moreover was he a pontiff when he offered himself unblemished upon the altar of the cross.
>
> He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he blessed the bread and the wine, calling them his body and blood.

Here the *sacerdos* is placed after the pontifex and the dominical sanction is one generally assigned to the presbyter. Both the placement of the *sacerdos* and the dominical sanction may be a further recognition by the compiler that the bishop, like the presbyter, is a Eucharistic officer.

Closely related to the Ordinal in the Arsenal and *Liber Quare* manuscripts is one in a 12th-century florilegial tract attributed to an Amelarius:

[Ordinal of Paris BNF lat. 12942]

These are therefore the seven grades that the Lord has in himself.

He was a bishop when he breathed in the face of his disciples, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit," and at Pentecost when he sent the Holy Spirit upon them.

He was a pontiff, when he offered himself unblemished on the altar of the cross to the Father.

He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he blessed the bread and wine, and gave them to his disciples, calling them his body and his blood.

He was a deacon, when he took a basin and girded with a towel washed the disciples' feet.

He was a subdeacon when he made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.

He was an acolyte when he called himself the light of the world, and said, "He who follows me will not walk in darkness…" etc.

He was an exorcist when he cast out seven demons.

He was a doorkeeper when he opened the gates of hell and took his elect with him, leaving the reprobate behind.

This Ordinal differs in two major respects from the related texts in the Arsenal and *Liber Quare* manuscripts: firstly, the grades are listed in descending order from bishop down to doorkeeper and, secondly, the grade of lector is omitted. It is mainly in the sanctions for the *sacerdos* and doorkeeper that the Paris and *Liber Quare* and the Arsenal Ordinals are different.

An Ordinal in a 13th-century manuscript from the Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève in Paris is probably based on an earlier 12th-century model:

[Ste-Geneviève Ordinal]

On the grades of orders in the Church. What are the grades of the Church? They are seven, which are doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter.

(Doorkeeper) Whence the Lord was a doorkeeper when he opened the gates of hell and took away his elect, but left the reprobate behind.

(Lector) Whence the Lord was a lector when he opened the book of Isaiah the prophet and read it in the midst of his people, saying, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and the Lord anointed me to announce to the meek, etc."

(Exorcist) Whence the Lord was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

(Acolyte) Whence the Lord was an acolyte when by his passion and cross he illumines the world, and by which he offers himself as a sacrifice.

(Subdeacon) Whence the Lord was a subdeacon when he made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.

(Deacon) Whence the Lord was a deacon when he was washing the feet of his disciples. Whence the Lord is called a Levite. By ancient custom the Levite was made from the tribe of Levi. It is proper that the Gospel be read by a Levite.

(Presbyter) Whence the Lord is called a presbyter when he blessed the five loaves and two fishes. The Spirit (*sic*) is called when he raised his hands over the Apostles and blessed them.

Like many high medieval texts on orders, it is said that there are seven grades, but eight are described, including the bishop (*epicopus*), who is mistakenly called *spiritus* and is combined with the presbyter. In several grades there are reminiscences of the Ordinal in the 9th-century *Disputatio Puerorum* for the doorkeeper, lector, acolyte, and deacon. The sanction for the acolyte probably refers to his duties in the Eucharist and processions.

The School of Laon is not noted for sentences on sacred orders, but in a manuscript of the Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc 216, there are a number of sentences of the School of Laon, among which is:

[School of Laon]

How and when the Lord Jesus fulfilled all the grades.

First he was a doorkeeper when he cast out the buyers and sellers from the Temple, and when he said, "Lift up your doors, you princes."

He was a lector when he opened the book of Isaiah and said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and sent me to preach good news to the poor."

Third, he was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

Fourth, he was an acolyte when he said, "I am the light of the world," and when he illumined the man blind from birth.

Fifth, he was a subdeacon when he made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.

Sixth, he was a deacon when he washed and dried his disciples' feet, and when he preached, announcing the kingdom of God.

Seventh, he was a presbyter when he took the bread, blessed it and broke it, and having blessed the chalice, gave it to his disciples

Eighth, he was a bishop when he raised his hands over the heads of his disciples and when he gave them power to bind and loose, and when he raised the dead.

While it is going beyond the evidence to connect Anselm of Laon, who may have been trained at Bec, with the Norman Anonymous and the Norman tradition, the connection is stronger when it is found that the same text is in a late 11th- or early 12th-century manuscript, London, British Library Harl. 3222, containing a letter which has been attributed to Boso of Bec. Three grades in particular bear traces of a Norman tradition not far from the Norman Anonymous: the doorkeeper, acolyte, and deacon. Also, there are reminiscences of the Arsenal Ordinal in the sanctions for the deacon and bishop.

South of the Alps, in another 12th-century florilegium and on orders with the name of Amalarius attached, is an Ordinal worked into a more extensive treatment of orders, combining newer and older dominical sanctions seen north of the Alps as well as several very original sanctions.

[Ordinal of Milan Amb. T 62 sup.]

(Doorkeeper) Christ fulfilled this office when making a whip out of a rope he cast out the sellers and buyers from the Temple, or when descending into hell he broke the iron bars and conquered death for the righteous, having reserved for them the kingdom of heaven.

(Lector) Christ fulfilled this office when opening the book of Isaiah in the synagogue, he came upon the place wherein was written, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me to preach the good news to the poor."

(Exorcist) Christ fulfilled this office when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

(Acolyte) Christ fulfilled this office when he opened the eyes of the blind man.

(Subdeacon) Christ fulfilled this office when in his first miracle he made water into wine.

(Deacon) Christ fulfilled this office when he washed his disciples' feet, and taught them to wash each other's feet likewise and the same. Thus the deacon reads the Gospel just as the Lord preached the good news when he said "I came not to be served but to serve."

(Presbyter) Christ fulfilled this office when taking the bread he blessed it, broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take this and eat it. This is

my body." Likewise, after he had supped, taking the chalice he blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take this and drink all of it."

(Bishop-Sacerdos) Christ fulfills this office when he breathed into the hearts of the disciples the Holy Spirit, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit. Those whose sins you remit shall be remitted."

In this Ordinal a number of the sanctions are old ones or ones in use by the late 11th century, but they have been cast in different terminology: for the doorkeeper, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and *sacerdos-bishop.*

In the five Ordinals thus far examined with the amalgamation of old and new forms, most of the grades have been assigned a multiplicity of sanctions. In others, however, there is simplicity reminiscent of the earliest Ordinals of Christ. One of these is in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence:

[Laurenziana Ordinal]

Christ was a doorkeeper when he opened and closed, and when he cast out the buyers and sellers from the Temple, and opened the gates of heaven and hell.

He was a lector when he opened the book of Isaiah in the synagogue.

He was an exorcist when he cast out demons.

He was an acolyte when he illumined the physically and spiritually blind, and when he said himself to be the light of the world.

He was a subdeacon when he mixed the water and the wine.

He was a deacon when he broke the bread and the fishes and many thousands were satisfied.

He was a presbyter when he appeared to his disciples with the bread and the cup.

He was a bishop when ascending to heaven he blessed his disciples.

Indicia of new transalpine traditions are clear in the sanctions for the doorkeeper and acolyte, while the old Hibernian tradition is recognizable in the sanctions for the lector and exorcist. Two grades have novel dominical sanctions: the acolyte, whose sanction is expressed in unusual terms, and the subdeacon, whose sanction is likely a simple description of his actual Eucharistic function in preparing the water and wine.

Shortened dominical sanctions of both the new northern type and older Hibernian tradition are found in the *Sacramentarium* of the enigmatic Honorius Augustodunensis:

[Honorius "of Autun" Ordinal]

Of that which is ordained and incorporated in Christ.
He himself was a doorkeeper, as he said, "I am the door, by me if any man enters in, to him the doorkeeper opens."
He was an exorcist when he expelled demons.
He was a lector when he read from Isaiah.
He was an acolyte when he gave light to the blind and said, "I am the light of the world."
He was a subdeacon when he turned water into wine.
He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet.
He was a presbyter when he gave his own body.
He was a bishop when he blessed them.

Although this Ordinal does not point to an Irish origin of Honorius, Hibernian influence is immediately obvious in the placement of the exorcist lower than the lector, something found in the Ordinal of Christ in the *Collectio canonum hibernensis*, and in the dominical sanctions for the lector, subdeacon, deacon, and bishop. But newer influences from lvo's work are found in sanctions for the doorkeeper, from a Norman tradition in the exorcist, and in the verse for the acolyte.

Yet another abbreviated Ordinal with the same sequence of lower grades as Honorius appears in the manuscript from the University Library at Cambridge with two Ordinals of Christ:

[Ordinal A of Cambridge]

The Lord fulfilled seven grades of the Church.
He was a doorkeeper when he cast out buyers and sellers from the Temple.
He was an exorcist when he cast out demons from the Magdalena.
He was a lector when he came to the Temple and opened the book of Moses.
He was an acolyte when he said, "I am the light of the world."
He was a subdeacon when he washed his disciples' feet.
He was a deacon when he said, "Be watchful and pray."
He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he offered himself as true victim on the altar of the cross.
He was a bishop when he said, "Take this and eat, this is my body."

The only Hibernian remnant is found in the verse for the exorcist. Ivonian influence is found in sanctions for the doorkeeper, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and sacerdotal presbyter. New twists are found in the sanction for the lector and bishop.

According to many high medieval canonists there were nine grades, if one counts both the psalmist and bishop, and one of the most remarkable Ordinals of Christ in a canonical collection has a verse for the psalmist, the *Collection in Ten Parts*, and its derivative collection, the *Summa Haimonis*:

[*Collection in Ten Parts* Ordinal]

Isidore: Gaius, pope, martyr and twenty-eighth bishop after Peter instituted that all the orders should be held in imitation of Christ.

Christ was a psalmist when he led his disciples in a new song.

He was a doorkeeper when he harrowed hell.

He was a lector when he read the book of Isaiah in the synagogue.

He was an exorcist when he cast out demons.

He was an acolyte when he illumined the blind.

He was a subdeacon when he turned water into wine.

He was a deacon when he washed his disciples' feet.

He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he turned the bread and the wine into the sacrament of his body.

He was a bishop when ascending to heaven he blessed his disciples.

[*Summa Haimonis* Ordinal]

Isidore. All the orders should be held in imitation of Christ.

Christ was a psalmist when he taught a new song.

He was a doorkeeper when he harrowed hell.

He was a lector when he read Isaiah in the synagogue.

He was an exorcist when he cast out demons.

He was a subdeacon when he turned water into wine.

He was a deacon when he washed his apostles' feet.

He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he turned the bread and the wine into the sacrament of his body.

He was a bishop when ascending to heaven he blessed his disciples.

The major differences between these versions are the omission in the *Summa* of the grade and sanction for the acolyte and the revised introduction in the *Summa*. The Ordinal of the *Collection in Ten Parts* is interesting not only for its novel computation of the grades, but also for the canons contiguous with it. Before the Ordinal, the old Roman "interstices text" listing the cursus of the

ecclesiastical grades attributed to Pope Gaius is repeated. And almost as if to "explain" the presence of both the presbyter and bishop there follows the important first canon of the Council of Benevento (1091) with its statement, based on the ideas of Theodore of Mopsuestia, that the sacred orders are only two. These two are the deacon and presbyter, those known to the primitive church. In an expanded form this same structure appears in the later *De sacramentis* of Hugh of Victor and the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, where the Romano-Gallican list of grades precedes a tract containing an Ordinal of Christ and the Beneventan canon falls between the description of both the presbyteral *ordo* and episcopal *dignitas*.

While the old Hibernian traditions are clear in the dominical sanction for the doorkeeper and the omission of the acolyte in the *Summa Haimonis*, the dominical sanctions for the lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon are remarkably similar in the *Collection in Ten Parts* to those in Honorius.

The nine-grade list of orders, including the psalmist, in the *Collection in Ten Parts* finds a parallel in a slightly later text in a Bern manuscript:

> [Bern Ordinal]
>
> There are nine orders in the Church on earth like there are nine orders of angels in heaven, nine poor men in the Psalms, nine beatitudes in Matthew, and nine grades in which Christ was.
>
> He was a doorkeeper when he burst hell and opened Paradise.
>
> He was an acolyte when he illumined hell and said, "I am the light of the world."
>
> He was a psalmist when he received the testimony of the Psalms.
>
> He was a lector when he read or opened the book of Isaiah the prophet.
>
> He was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.
>
> He was a subdeacon when he washed his disciples' feet.
>
> He was a deacon when he made water into wine in Cana of Galilee.
>
> He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when at supper he sacrificed in the bread his body and blood.
>
> He was a bishop when on the day of his ascension he raised his hands and blessed the apostles to the episcopal grade, saying, "May your faith stand firm in your hearts…"

There are several unusual features in this Ordinal. The nine grades are compared to the nine orders of angels, perhaps a reflection of Eastern influence. Also, the grade of acolyte follows the doorkeeper, a sequence found in the

Etymologies of Isidore, and the psalmist, who was at times in the early Middle Ages equated with the lector, precedes the lector before the exorcist. There are unusually phrased sanctions for the acolyte, psalmist, and bishop, and there is a reversal of the ancient tradition in which the subdeacon was sanctioned by Cana and the diaconate by the *pedilavium*.

Later in the 12th century an anonymous compiler of the *Notule super iv. librum sententiarum* used an Ordinal of Christ listing nine grades, but replaced the psalmist with the cantor:

> [Notule Ordinal]
>
> All orders are expressed in Christ himself by act and decree.
>
> He was a cantor when he sang a hymn, (Gratian "De consecratione I," On Hymns).
>
> He was a doorkeeper, making a whip out of cords he cast out the buyers and sellers from the Temple, saying "If any enter through me he shall be saved."
>
> He was a lector when before the elders he opened the book of Isaiah and read distinctly, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me and has anointed me."
>
> He was an exorcist when he cast out the demons and when he made mud from spit and anointed the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf.
>
> He was an acolyte, or a candle bearer, when he said, "I am the light of the world, and he who follows me…"
>
> He was a subdeacon when he tied a towel about his waist and washed his disciples' feet.
>
> He was a deacon when he urged them to prayer, saying, "Keep watch," etc.
>
> He was a presbyter or priest (*sacerdos*) when he offered himself on the altar of the cross and when, blessing the bread, he offered it to his disciples, saying "Take…"
>
> He was a bishop when he sent the lepers to the priests and to the lesser and, afterwards, one returned to give thanks.

In the Ordinals where the psalmist was included, the reference was usually to the Psalms, but here it is to a hymn, the one Christ and his disciples sang before going to the Mount of Olives. That this incident would spring to the mind of the compiler in sanctioning the cantor is not surprising inasmuch as he cited Gratian's *Decretum*, *De consecratione* 1.54, which contains a reference to the widely known canon 13 of the IV Council of Toledo, in which Christ's example

was used to justify the use of hymns. Except for the bishop, the remainder of the grades have dominical sanctions in the Ivonian tradition. The sanction for the bishop may be a reference to Christ as bishop as he sends the Holy Spirit, a reference found in several other early 12th-century Ordinals.

Surpassing all prior Ordinals of Christ in its length, originality, and ambiguity is one by Hugh of Amiens, who was a successor of William Bona Anima of Rouen and eventually made archbishop of Rouen:

> [Hugh of Amiens Ordinal]
>
> Great is this our doorkeeper [1] once and again he cast out the buyers and sellers from the Temple; [2] the blessed thief hanging on the cross, once confessing and asking for mercy, (Christ) opened Paradise to him; [3] "I am," he said, "the door. If you enter by me you will be saved." [4] He by his own power harrowed the gates of hell, leading his own out to freedom. [5] At his resurrection the tomb is opened, the earth quaked, and the tombs were opened, and many of the bodies of the saints who had slept were raised. [6] At his ascension the heavens are opened now and for eternity.
>
> Great also is our Lord Jesus, always the lector, [1] who as God the Word speaks all things at the same time, God from God, the same who decreed the law from Paradise for the character of the first man. [2] As a lector, the apostle says, "In many ways, in times past, God spoke to the fathers in the prophets, in these last days has spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds." [3] As a lector he wrote in the dust for the woman caught in adultery and said, "Let he who is without sin cast the first stone." [4] There he was writing on the dust, with the fingers that once wrote on two stone tablets, giving the law to Moses. [5] Finally this lector was given the book of Isaiah the prophet to be read in the synagogue, he read it, and in returning it, began to expound on it, saying that the chapter of the prophet is manifested in himself, prophesying truly of him.
>
> Jesus Christ was even our great exorcist. [1] That Satan, swelling with pride, wanting to rule, was crushed by the kingdom he wanted to overwhelm and caused our fathers to be transgressors and cast from the garden. [2] Leading our emperor to the highest mountain, Satan tested him with idolatry, he said, Get thee behind me, Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. [3] He also sent those demons called Legion into the swine. [4] Indeed all these things you will find when you read the Gospels.

[1] Great was our Lord Jesus Christ, the acolyte, when he said, "Let there be light," and there was light, and he divided the light from the darkness. [2] And he says this of himself, "I am the light of the world." [3] This is the true light, of which the Evangelist says, "That was the true light, which illuminates every man that comes into the world." [4] This same acolyte led the children of Israel wondrously in a pillar of fire into the promised land. [5] Coming in the flesh he illuminated them, and says, "Walk while you have the light." [6] And, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." [7] This acolyte exhorts us in this way: "Let your loins be girt, and a lamp burning in your hands."

Great is our Jesus Christ, the subdeacon, most powerful of all. [1] He presented the children of Israel manna in the wilderness for forty years. [2] In the Kerith ravine he fed Elijah with bread and meat, being ministered by a raven. [3] In Cana of Galilee he turned water into wine, bringing joy to the banquet. [4] In the paschal meal he poured the water into the basin, and the humble subdeacon washed his disciples' feet, drying them with the towel about his waist.

Great also is our deacon Jesus Christ, who reaches from one end mightily, and orders all things sweetly. [1] He himself ordained by the hand of Moses both the holy rites, and the offices for their ministration, which under the manner of nature, and under the direction and remedy of the law of grace from the beginning to the end of the world, produces a wondrous dispensation for the Church. [2] This same Levite is so wonderful that he made of the paschal supper a new (covenant) from the old, so that as truth appeared in a figure, it would be put forth as food for the living. [3] He himself was placed on the cross, and piously gave his mother under the care of love to his beloved disciple, saying, "Woman, behold your son." And to the disciple, "Behold your mother." And from that hour the disciple took her in. She was delegated to him by the Levite, the Son of the Most High. Of this disciple the Lord responded to Peter after the resurrection, "I want him to remain alive until I return."

Great is our presbyter Jesus, [1] who by his own hands makes the bread and the chalice into his body and blood in the sacred banquet, and gave them to his disciples to be taken, as a simple truth, without any ambiguity. [2] "This is," he said, "my body, which is given for you. This is my blood which is shed for you. Do this in memory of me." [3] Of this sacrament of his body and blood, and all the sacraments of the Church, he fully ordered his disciples to observe them.

> Great is this our pontiff and bishop. [1] He suffered on the cross for the salvation of the world. [2] He offered himself for us to God the Father as a holy victim, living, whole, and perfect, affixing upon the cross the handwriting of our damnation, destroying in them our sins, both original and those we superimpose of our own will. His priesthood remains in eternity. [3] At the beginning of the world he created and completed his bishop's office by giving his most eminently supreme blessing; [4] and sanctified his own day as a day of rest, in which he would rest from all the works he had done. [5] And at this blessed rest, the nine ranks of the angelic hosts, Satan and his cast of demons he cast out of heaven as he lifted his pious hands of charity, and looked with compassion upon us, the pitiful league of sinful criminals. [6] He himself, indeed, the true light, came down to our darkness, being sent by God the Father, and was made man of the Virgin, of the promised seed of Abraham, in whom all nations are blessed in the fullness without end.
>
> [1] This high priest (*summos sacerdos*) takes away our sins in his own body. On this Isaiah says, "He is wounded for our iniquities. He was wounded for our transgressions." Hence, by the same prophet, God gave his Son who bears witness to the Father, "Because of the transgression of my people was he stricken." And the prophet, "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. The discipline of our peace was upon him and by his stripes we are healed." [2] And this same good shepherd, in the gospel says, "I lay down my life for the sheep." In regard to this he says elsewhere, "I have power to lay down my life, and to take it up again." [3] He lays it down not for himself, but for us, dying on the cross. Again, he takes it up by rising from the dead, as he willed it to be done. For, as the Apostle says, since in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself becoming obedient unto death, even death on a cross, on account of which cause God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, on earth and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father.

This Ordinal is set within an apology for the catholic hierarchy against a number of unspecified heretics and, thus, it is understandable why the grades would be ordered according to a hierarchical sequence, as well as why there would be the *summus sacerdos* beyond the bishop, referred to as pontifex.

The sanctions that Hugh uses are extraordinary for several reasons. Firstly, he uses far more sanctions for each grade than anyone before him, perhaps attempting to pile up justification for each grade against heretics who had attacked the hierarchy. Secondly, Hugh uses a large number of Old Testament sanctions—many more than any Ordinal before him—going back even to creation. Thirdly, the traditional dominical sanctions that Hugh uses are extraordinary for their phraseology and for the way Hugh mixes several dominical sanctions under a single grade, which in earlier Ordinals were attached to a single grade. Such is the case, for example, with the subdeacon that is sanctioned by both the *pedilavium* and miracle of Cana.

The second major group of Ordinals of Christ from the 12th century and beyond is characterized by the omission of the bishop. The majority of these Ordinals are found in sentence collections or tracts on miscellaneous subjects and in pontificals.

One of the most unusual and interesting of these appears in the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, perhaps by Raimbald of Liège, defending the canons regular against monks, and setting forth a spirituality of the canons regular in terms of the clerical imitation of Christ:

> [*Libellus de diversis ordinibus* Ordinal]
>
> If, therefore, the Lord Jesus, just as it was said, reading the book of Isaiah before us, enters the synagogue as a lector,
> And a doorkeeper when eliminating the moneychangers,
> And an exorcist when casting out demons,
> And a candle bearer when illuminating the blind,
> And a subdeacon when ministering,
> And a deacon when preaching the gospel of the kingdom,
> And a priest (*sacerdos*) when offering himself,
> It will not be absurd if he is hewing out of the mountain or the desert a life that is proper to that of a hermit and consecrates it in his own self.

Why the doorkeeper is placed below the lector is a mystery, although in the early Autun Ordinal this was the case. Ivonian influence is perhaps found in the dominical sanction for the doorkeeper and the *sacredos*. But in the other grades traditions found in the Norman Anonymous, Honorius, and the School of Laon are more likely.

Related to the Ste-Geneviève Ordinal is one found in a florilegial manuscript of the 13th century in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome. Abstracted from a longer treatise on the seven ecclesiastical orders, the Ordinal of Christ reads:

[Vallicelliana Ordinal]

Whence the Lord was a doorkeeper when he opened the doors of hell and took out his own.

Whence the Lord was a lector when he opened the book of Isaiah and read it in the midst of the people, saying, "The Holy Spirit has come upon you in power."

Whence the Lord was an exorcist when he cast out the seven demons from Mary Magdalene.

Whence the Lord was an acolyte when he took the cross to his passion by which he illuminated the world for which he offered himself as a sacrifice.

Whence the Lord was a subdeacon when he turned water into wine at the wedding feast.

Whence the Lord was a deacon when he washed the disciples' feet.

Whence the Lord was a presbyter when he took the bread and gave it to his disciples saying, "Take and eat, this is my body."

The similarity between this Ordinal and that of Ste-Geneviève is most clear in the grades of doorkeeper, in part the lector (although Luke 1:35 is used), exorcist, acolyte, and subdeacon. But for the deacon the old *pedilavium* is used, and for the presbyter the changing of bread and wine.

A Norman tradition, mentioned already several times, is found clearly in Ordinals of Rouen and Canterbury pontifical, where they are embedded in admonitions given by the bishop to each of the grades from doorkeeper through presbyter:

[Canterbury Ordinal]

Christ deigned to become a doorkeeper when he closed and opened Noah's ark, or when he opened the gates of hell and took his elect and left the reprobate.

(Lector) Our Lord discharged this office when he came into the synagogue and the book of Isaiah the prophet was brought to him.

(Exorcist) Our Lord also discharged this office when he cast out demons from the bodily possessed.

(Acolyte) Christ discharged this office when he returned sight to the blind and shone forth as the sun of righteousness through the dark clouds of sin.

(Subdeacon) Our Lord truly discharged this function when he washed the feet of his disciples and dried them with a towel.

(Deacon) Christ truly discharged the office when he preached ... Our Lord ministered this office when he opened his mouth and proclaimed, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

The Lord was even a priest (sacerdos) when hanging on the cross he offered himself as a living sacrifice to the highest Father for the salvation of his people. Of this the prophet says, "You are priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

[Rouen Ordinal]

Christ fulfilled this office when going into the Temple with a whip made of rope he ejected those selling and buying sheep and cattle.

(Lector) Our Lord discharged this office when he came into the synagogue and the book of Isaiah the prophet was brought to him.

(Exorcist) Our Lord also discharged this office when he cast out demons from the bodily possessed.

(Acolyte) Christ discharged this office when he returned sight to the blind and shone forth as the sun of righteousness through the dark clouds of sin.

(Subdeacon) Our Lord truly discharged this function when he washed the feet of his apostles and dried them with a towel.

(Deacon) Christ truly discharged the office when he preached... Our Lord ministered this office when he opened his mouth and proclaimed, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

The Lord was even a priest (sacerdos) when he hung on the cross and offered himself as a living sacrifice to the highest Father for the salvation of his people. Of this the prophet says, "You are priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

While the Norman Anonymous listed the grades in a chronological order, they are here listed in hierarchical order, but the dominical sanctions are virtually the same although in a more extensive form. The major difference in the two pontifical Ordinals is in the doorkeeper, where the Rouen compiler used the sanction preferred by the Norman Anonymous, and the Canterbury compiler reflected the English tradition of Christ at the ark of Noah and in the harrowing of hell.

Related to the Ordinals of the Norman Anonymous, lvo, and the Canterbury and Rouen pontificals are two similar Ordinals within sentence collections emanating for the territory of the lower Rhine or Flanders, that of Master Simon and the so-called *Treatise of Madrid*:

[Master Simon Ordinal]

He wished to be a doorkeeper when he cast out from the Temple the buyers and sellers.

He was lector when he read from the book of Isaiah, "The Spirit of the Lord over me etc."

He held the office of exorcist when with the power of his word he made the demons flee from the bodily obsessed.

He was acolyte when making mud with spit he opened the eyes of the blind.

He showed himself as subdeacon when pouring water into a basin and girding himself with a towel he washed the disciples' feet.

He showed in himself the office of deacon when with the sacrament of his body and blood he ministered to his disciples.

He wished to be a presbyter when taking bread and the chalice he blessed them.

[*Treatise of Madrid* Ordinal]

He was a doorkeeper when he cast out of the Temple the buyers and sellers.

He was lector when he rose to read, as it was written, "The Spirit of the Lord is over me because he anointed etc."

He was exorcist when he ejected demons from the bodily obsessed.

He was subdeacon when girding himself with a towel he washed the disciples' feet.

He was deacon when at supper he gave his body to his disciples.

He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he offered himself on the altar of the cross.

When Heinrich Weisweiler first published these texts he noted that of the dominical episodes used, only those for the exorcist, acolyte, and presbyter differ from those in Ivo's *Sermo II*.[2] While this is true, it is more likely that the compilers used a Norman tradition for these grades as well as for the doorkeeper and lector. For the presbyter the reference to the altar of the cross (*ara crucis*) probably does, however, derive from Ivo.

The brevity of the dominical sanction for the presbyter and omission of the acolyte in the *Treatise of Madrid* finds parallels in the second Ordinal of the Cambridge manuscript earlier described:

2 See Heinrich Weisweiler, *Maître Simon et son groupe: De sacramentis* (Louvain: 1937).

[Ordinal B of Cambridge]

He was a doorkeeper when he cast out of the Temple the buyers and sellers saying, "I am the door."

He was lector when he read from the book of Isaiah, "The Spirit of the Lord is over me because he anointed me."

Exorcist means in Latin one who casts out, when he illuminated the eyes of the blind and ejected demons.

He was subdeacon when girding himself with a towel he washed the disciples' feet.

He was deacon when he ministered at prayer, saying, "Be aware lest you fall into etc."

He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he offered himself on the altar of the cross.

Probably the compiler was using a tradition closer to the lvonian Ordinal, but the sanctions for the exorcist, the first of which was usually assigned to the acolyte, were in the tradition earlier reflected in the Norman Anonymous and the School of Laon.

A final Ordinal with both old and new sanctions in which the bishop has been omitted is found in a late 12th- or early 13th-century commentary on the Psalter emanating from a Parisian milieu.

[Psalter Commentary Ordinal]

Concerning the order of Christ. Christ fulfilled all orders.

He was a doorkeeper, that is, he represents the office of doorkeeper, when having made a whip ejected all from the Temple.

He was lector when there was presented to him the book of Isaiah in the Temple, and he opened the book and read, "The Spirit of the Lord is over me."

He was an acolyte when he said, "I am the light of the world."

He was an exorcist when he made the demons flee from the bodily obsessed.

He was subdeacon when he poured water into a basin and washed the disciples' feet.

He was deacon when he gave his body to his disciples saying, "Take, this is my body."

He was a priest (*sacerdos*) when he offered for us his body on the cross to God the Father.

Strangely the sequence of the exorcist and acolyte has been reversed from the normal Romano-Gallican sequence. Although at first sight the influence of Ivo's Ordinal seems clear, the brevity of the dominical sanctions makes it impossible to state this unequivocally since many other Ordinals between Ivo's time and the composition of this Ordinal have similar sanctions.

6.10 Later Medieval Ordinals of Christ

Far into the later Middle Ages there were Ordinals of Christ with a mixture of the old and new forms. In the *Manuale de mysteriis ecclesiae* of Peter of Roissy, chancellor of Chartres, the psalmist with dominical sanction was added between the presbyter and bishop, and the three subsequent orders of subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter were called higher (*maiores*) because of their celibacy:

> [*Manuale* Ordinal]
>
> (Doorkeeper) This office Christ showed in himself when having made a whip he cast out the buyers and sellers from the Temple. … The Lord even accomplished this office when he said, "I am the door. If any man enters in by me he shall truly enter the Church and leave this present misery and come to eternal life."
>
> (Lector) This office the Lord himself fulfilled when after the book of Isaiah was put into his hands he read, "The Spirit of the Lord is over me because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor."
>
> (Exorcist) This office the Lord himself fulfilled when putting spit in the mouth and ears of the deaf and dumb he said," Effeta, that is, be opened."
>
> (Acolyte) This office the Lord himself fulfilled when he said, "I am the light of the world."
>
> The following three major orders are those which require continence.
>
> (Subdeacon) This office the Lord himself, after he had gird himself with a towel, washed the feet of the disciples.
>
> (Deacon) This office Christ fulfilled in himself when he said to his disciples, "Be aware lest you fall into temptation."
>
> (Sacerdos) This office Christ fulfilled in himself when at supper he consecrated bread into his body and wine into his blood and gave these to his disciples, or when he offered himself to God as a sweet smelling victim on the altar of the cross.

(Psalmist) To these seven orders some add the psalmist saying that the Lord fulfilled this office when he said to the Jews: "What David said in the Spirit. The Lord said to my lord, etc."

(Bishop) This office Christ fulfilled in himself when he said to the apostles, "Whatsoever you shall bind on earth etc."

Clearly in this Ordinal the Ivonian sanctions were used as a model, but repeatedly Peter of Roissy adds material from pre-Ivonian Ordinals of Christ. But of special interest is his concept of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. First Peter deals with the lower grades from doorkeeper through acolyte, then the major grades of subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter, who must be celibate. The two last grades, the psalmist and bishop, are added simply because some authorities consider them orders.

The most famous of high medieval liturgical commentaries, the *Rationale* of William Durandus, contains a mixture of old and new dominical sanctions for the grades from doorkeeper through bishop. Much more extraordinary, however, is an Ordinal of Christ found in a 15th-century manuscript of a *Summa de penitentia.*

[Ordinal of Paris BNF 3265A]

Christ was a cleric when a voice nearby said, "This is my Son in whom I am well pleased."

He was lector when he opened the book of Isaiah.

He was a doorkeeper when he cast out of the Temple the buyers and sellers.

He was an exorcist when he cast out seven demons from the sinner Maria.

He was an acolyte when he partook of the broiled fish and honeycomb.

He was a subdeacon when he gave bread to the disciples that they might feed the crowd.

He was a deacon when he girded himself and washed the feet of the disciples.

He was a presbyter when he blessed bread and gave it to the disciples.

He was a bishop when he ascended to the heavens and blessed them.

Strangely this Ordinal is embedded in a tract entitled *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*, and the first sentence lists the four non-sacred grades as doorkeeper, lector, acolyte, and exorcist, and the three sacred orders as subdeacon, deacon,

and presbyter. But when it comes to the Ordinal itself, there are nine grades including the cleric and bishop, and the sequence of lower grades is extraordinary: cleric, lector, doorkeeper, exorcist, and acolyte. Why the cleric with its mixture of ancient and newer sanctions appears is unclear. The appearance of the lector before the doorkeeper was found in the ancient Autun Ordinal of Christ and in the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*. Among the very unusual dominical sanctions for the grades are the ones for the cleric and acolyte.

Despite the fact that there exist many Ordinals of Christ combining old and new forms, it was the Ivonian form that proved to be the most popular and widely diffused from the 12th century on. Ivo's *Sermo II* with its Ordinal appears in dozens of manuscripts, but beyond this are treatises independent of the Sermo with Ivo's version including: the *Sententia Magistri A*, the *Sentences of Troyes Bibliothèque Municipale 1487*, an Ordo for canons regular, a tract on sacred orders in London, British Library Arundel 360, a 12th-century *Liber sacramentorum* of Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale 295, a canonical-theological miscellany in Oxford, Bodleian Library 37, a manuscript with the *Summa of Stephen of Tournai*, Vatican BAV Borghes. 287, Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXLI (in an abbreviated form), three Spanish pontificals of Burgo de Osma, Biblioteca Capitular 166, and Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular 39.14 and 56.18, and London, British Library, Royal 8 B XIV, and Sloane 2479. Also, in slightly variant forms, it appears such later medieval tracts as Hugh of Strasbourg's *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, in London, British Library Royal 7 A IX, and Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 655.

The most important vehicles for the transmission and diffusion of the Ivonian version were the *De sacramentis* of Hugh of Victor and the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard. In both, texts from the Ivonian version are intercalated into other materials to form longer texts on sacred orders. In some cases material outside of Ivo's version was added, such as Christ's expulsion of the demons from Mary Magdalene in Hugh's work. The material peculiar to Hugh was passed into a number of different Ordinals of Christ, including Tortosa, Biblioteca Capitular 122, and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine Lat. 778, the *De tripartito tabernaculo* by the Premonstratensian Adam Scotus, and in part in the *De sacramento altaris* attributed to Stephan of Autun. It was also worked into ordination sermons in such manuscripts as Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 794, the *Pontifical of Troyes*, Trésor de la Cathedrale 4, the *Pontifical of Arezzo*, Oxford, Bodleian Library Can. Liturg. 359, and into pontificals of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 79, Trinity College B XI 9, University Library Mm III 21, London, British Library Harl. 561, Lansdowne 451, and Dublin, Trinity College Library 98.

As Joseph de Ghellinck a century ago showed in his masterful examination of the sources of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, it was Hugh's Ordinal of Christ that was more influential than Ivo's in the *Sententiae*, but nonetheless, the text is essentially Ivo's.[3] With the version of the Ordinal in the Lombard's *Sententiae*, the text had received its "canonical" form, and it can be found in later sentence collections such as the *Sententiae* of Master Bandinus, although in an abbreviated form. Throughout the late 12th and 13th centuries it was included in slightly variant forms in a number of important texts. Among these are the canonical-theological sentence collection of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Y 43 sup., the *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae* attributed to the school of Hugh of Victor, and the *Mitrale* of Sicard of Cremona.

[Ordinal of Milan Amb, Y 43 sup.]

(Doorkeeper) This office Christ received when he cast out of the Temple the buyers and sellers.

(Lector) Christ took up this office when sitting in the midst of the teachers he opened the book of Isaiah the prophet and coming upon the first chapter he said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me and has anointed me and sent me to announce to the meek …"

(Exorcist) This Christ did this when in the ears of the deaf and dumb he said, "Effeta, that is Open."

(Acolyte) This office Christ received in himself when he said, "He who would follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me."

(Subdeacon) Christ illustrated this at supper when rising from the table he took water and girding himself with a towel washed the feet of the disciples.

(Deacon) This office Christ exercised before supper when for his disciples he placed bread and wine on the table and said: "This is my body."

When he changed that bread and wine into his body and blood by the virtue of his power he showed himself to be in the office of priest (*sacerdos*) and in a new way taught what a priest should do. Not the less, he fulfilled the ministry of the priest (*sacerdos*) when he offered himself as sacrifice to God the Father on the altar of the cross.

3 See J. de Ghellinck, "Le traité de Pierre Lombard sur les sept orders ecclésiastiques: ses sources, ses copistes," *Revue d'historie ecclésiastique* 10 (1909): 290–302, 720–28; and 11 (1910): 29–46.

In this Ordinal dominical sanctions used for the doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, and subdeacon follow an Ivonian prototype fairly closely. But the sanctions for the acolyte, deacon, and presbyter vary. For the acolyte, the text from Matthew 16:24 seems to emphasize this official's processional duties with the cross. For the diaconate, an unusual addition is introduced that sounds more like a sanction for the presbyter. For the presbyter, the two sanctions are both sacrificial and apply to the presbyteral *sacerdos*.

[*Speculum* Ordinal]

> But now it is to be seen that all those having these grades are spiritually the vicars of the bishop who in himself fulfills these offices.
>
> For he showed himself to be a doorkeeper when he cast out from the Temple the buyers and sellers, which in the Church today happens spiritually. Hence, in the Gospel says the Lord, "I am the door."
>
> He showed himself to be a lector when opening the book of Isaiah in the midst of the elders he read clearly for understanding.
>
> He indicated that he was an exorcist by driving out demons.
>
> He was an acolyte saying, "I am the light of the world."
>
> He was a subdeacon when he washed the disciples' feet.
>
> He was a deacon when he gave to his disciples with his own hands his body and blood and again when he exhorted them to prayer saying, "Be watchful and pray."

He showed himself to be a true priest when he transformed the bread and the wine into his body and blood and enjoined his disciples to do it in remembrance of his passion. And again, more clearly did he fulfill this office of the priesthood when he offered himself on the altar of the cross to the Father. And while he sat down at the right hand of the Father interceding for us, he fulfills this office in a more glorious way, in such a way that he brings peace between heaven and earth, making them one commonwealth.

[*Mitrale* Ordinal]

> Whoever serves me must follow me. All the above orders by some word Christ expresses in himself and showed in himself the image of all.
>
> He was a doorkeeper when having made a whip from rope he overturned the tables of those who bought and sold. Also, he called himself

> the door and rightly said that no one comes to the Father except through him. He is the doorkeeper who opens and no one closes, and he closes and no one opens.
>
> He was a lector when in the midst of the elders he opened the book of Isaiah saying, "The Spirit of the Lord is over me because he has anointed me to send me for announcing to the poor."
>
> He was an exorcist when he freed the demoniacs and touched with spit the ears of the deaf and tongue of the dumb saying, "Epheta, that is, Be Open."
>
> It is clear that he was an acolyte when he said, "I am the light of the world."
>
> He bore the office of subdeacon when he girded himself with a towel and washed the disciples' feet and dried them with the towel.
>
> He represented the office of deacon when he gave to the disciples the sacrament of his body and blood, and when they slept he urged them to pray saying, "Be aware and pray."
>
> He exhibited the office of priest (*sacerdos*) when he changed the bread into his body and wine into his blood and when as priest and victim he offered himself on the altar of the cross and now gloriously fills this office while seated at the right hand of the Father interceding for us.

In these Ordinals of Christ the Ivonian sanctions are shortened, but in several instances there are variants. Sicard says that Christ fulfilled the office of exorcist when he healed the demoniacs (*liberavit daemoniacos*), likely a reference to the ancient expulsion of demons. Also, both Ordinals mention the session of Christ as mediator, something found in the Ordinal attributed to Stephan of Autun.

6.11 Conclusion

The Ordinals of Christ compiled after Ivo clearly reflect a number of controversies regarding sacred orders. First, how many orders are there? Seven, as Peter Lombard would say, or nine, as the Ordinal of Paris BNF 3265 indicates? Second, what are these grades? Are they the expected doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter, or should the cleric, psalmist, and bishop with several offices be counted? Third, what are the lower orders and what are the higher or sacred orders? Is the subdeacon a sacred order, as he would generally be from the late 11th century on because of the requisite celibacy, or is he a

minor order? And what of the bishop? Is he an order in the same sense that the presbyter and deacon are? Or was the episcopacy simply an office in the same *ordo* as the *sacerdos* or presbyter?

The *motu proprio* decrees of 15 August 1972 were relatively swift and definitive statements by Pope Paul VI regarding the hierarchical structure of the Roman Catholic Church. In the early Middle Ages the establishment of the number and names of the orders was a more informal process, and the Ordinals of Christ played a significant role in this process. They furnished not only dominical models to be followed by clerics, but they also provided skeletons of sequences and grades that could be fleshed out by theologians, canonists, and liturgists. In the early Middle Ages Ordinals of Christ were structured both according to the actual sequence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and also according to the chronology in which Christ had fulfilled the grades. Until the late 11th century, this chronology corresponded to Christ's fulfillment of the grades before and after his passion. In a sense, this corresponded to the ancient theory of recapitulation of redemption, that is, after his baptism Christ fulfilled all of the grades just as in the recapitulation theory he had passed through all the ages of man to redeem man. With the late 11th century, the theological presupposition underlying the chronological ordering changed to the Eucharistic sacrifice of the true *sacerdos*. Just as the Last Supper was the determinative event in the institution of the grades, so their hierarchical relationship was determined by their relation to the Eucharist.

In the late 12th century, two innovations appeared in the structure of the Ordinals of Christ reflecting trends of immense importance in the theology of sacred orders. First, the acolyte, who had been an ordained officer in the Western Church since at least the 5th century, was now inserted into the hierarchy of the Ordinals. No longer were the grades to be computed as the traditional seven, that is, from doorkeeper through bishop but without acolyte. Rather, if one still used the traditional concept that there could be only seven grades, the inclusion of the acolyte made it imperative that one of the grades be omitted or combined with another. This was easily done by considering the bishop as one in *ordo* with the presbyter since both were considered *sacerdotes*, and in many Ordinals of Christ this conflation was made.

Beyond the various sequences and numbers of grades, the most striking aspect of the Ordinals of Christ is the luxuriance of dominical sanctions attached to the grades. Since the Ordinals were often anonymous, their medieval compilers and authors seem to have felt free to rearrange, add, and subtract sanctions at will to correspond to their notions of sacred orders.

Beyond this, the richness and almost exuberant diversity of the Ordinals of Christ afford us with one of the most precious insights into clerical spirituality in the dominical models clerics in the various grades were called to follow. They show us that in the clerical hierarchy of the Church all of the grades, not only bishops, priests, and deacons, were seen to be truly in the *imago Christi*.

CHAPTER 7

Priests and the Eucharist in the Middle Ages

John F. Romano

7.1 Introduction

> A priest (*sacerdos*) has a name compounded of Greek and Latin, as it were "one who gives a holy thing" (*sacrum dans*), for as king (*rex*) is named from "ruling" (*regere*), so priest from "making sacrifice" (*sacrificare*)–for he consecrates (*consecrare*) and sanctifies (*sanctificare*).[1]

The fanciful etymologies of Isidore of Seville (d. 636) reveal the deeper essences of terms rather than linguistic realities.[2] Here Isidore suggests the inextricable relationship between priests and the celebration of the Eucharist in the Middle Ages. The very name priest derives from the verbs to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to sanctify, and so just as it is the king's primary function to rule, it is the priest's function to perform the Eucharist. This etymology was frequently cited in discussions of priests and the Eucharist,[3] and it was not the only source to make a similar argument. A 7th–or 8th–century letter, sometimes attributed to Isidore, confirmed the significance of the Eucharist to the priest's duties: "To the priesthood belongs consecrating the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord on the altar of God, saying prayers, and blessing the people."[4] A pseudo-Hieronymian epistle *De officiis vii graduum,* composed before *c.* 700,

1 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, (ed.) W.M. Lindsay, vol. 1 (Oxford: 1911), lib. 7, c. 12, § 17, 130: "Sacerdos autem nomen habet conpositum ex Graeco et Latino, quasi sacrum dans; sicut enim rex a regendo, ita sacerdos a sacrificando vocatus est. Consecrat enim et sanctificat." I borrow this translation from *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S.A. Barney et al. (Cambridge; New York: 2006), 300.

2 For Isidore, see especially Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000).

3 See for example William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, (eds.) A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau, vol. 1 (Turnhout: 1995), lib. 2, c. 10, § 7, 168; Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum libri* IV, vol. 2 (Grottaferrata: 1971–81), lib. 4, dist. 24, c. 11, § 2, 403.

4 Roger E. Reynolds, "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum:* An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties," *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979): 252–330 and reprinted in his *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination* (Aldershot; Brookfield, VT: 1999) as no. III. The quotation appears on 260: "Ad presviterum pertinet sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini in altarium Dei conficere, orationes dicere et benedicere populum."

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likewise stated the priest's duties, with the sacrifice of the Mass heading the list: "It is necessary for the priest to offer sacrifice and bless, preside, preach, & baptize."[5] Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) referred to the work of the priest being "in the consecration of the divine body and blood, and in baptism, and in the office of preaching."[6]

The idea that celebrating the Eucharist was among the duties of a priest would have appeared uncontroversial in Western Europe over the broad period of the Middle Ages (*c*. 500 -*c*. 1500), and most medievalists would consider it unremarkable. This may be why the theme has never received the attention it deserves. There has been no recent scholarly investigation that surveys the interaction between priests and the Eucharist. Some of this lack of interest may be explained by contemporary avoidance of institutional or ecclesiastical history involved with studying priests, though it may be rooted in the challenges in studying medieval liturgy.[7] Medieval liturgy is sometimes envisioned as a technical, if not forbidding, field that attracts few devotees. Much of the foundational scholarship on the medieval liturgy has focused on the critical task of discovering sources and producing editions of them,[8] and comparably little has delved into the broader societal position of the Mass or of other liturgies.[9]

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5 For the edition of this text, see *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus*, (ed.) Jean Morin (Antwerp: 1695), 258: "Sacerdotem oportet offerre & benedicere, praeesse, praedicare, & baptizare." Analysis of it can be found in two works of Roger E. Reynolds: "The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*: Notes on its Origins, Abridgments, and Use in Early Medieval Canonical Collections," *Revue bénédictine* 80 (1970): 238–52 and reprinted in his *Clerical Orders* as no. I; and idem, "The *De officiis vii graduum:* Its Origins and Early Medieval Development," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972): 113–51, and reprinted in his *Clerical Orders* as no. II.

6 Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum = Über die Unterweisung der Geistlichen*, trans. Detlev Zimpel, vol. 1 (Turnhout: 2006), lib. 1, c. 6, 152–53: "[…] in confectione divini corporis et sanguinis, et in baptismati et in officio praedicandi." Cf. Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, (ed.) Christopher M. Lawson, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: 1989), lib. 2, c. 7, 65.

7 The basic printed bibliography of medieval liturgy remains Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, DC: 1986). This work is fundamental, but after over twenty-five years, it is in need of an update. Still useful too is the bibliography of Richard Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: 1982). An introduction to liturgical books is Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: 1998).

8 Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: 1990), 12–15.

9 Eric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Age* (Paris: 2000) extensively handles this theme, and is especially thorough when dealing with the history of mentalities. More recently, see John F. Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome* (Aldershot; Brookfield, VT: 2014).

Despite the labors of scholars, several of the primary sources of medieval liturgy remain in inadequate pre-modern editions.

Based upon the current state of our knowledge, no single chapter on the priests and the Eucharist in the Middle Ages could hope to be definitive. Rather it is my intention to sum up the current state of the field and in the process, to pave the way for future research. The examples brought to bear here range widely across Western Europe in the Middle Ages, and one should exercise due caution in assuming that every observation applies equally for the entire geography or chronology under consideration. First, I will focus on the process of ordination, which allowed the priest to consecrate the Eucharist. The next two sections will analyze what we can say about the celebration of the Mass in the Middle Ages and how it changed over time. Then, I will examine how the relationship between priests and the Eucharist was conceived and at times challenged. A conclusion will summarize the main points of the discussion.

7.2 The Ordination of Priests and the Eucharist

The ability that priests had to celebrate the Eucharist was conferred by their ordination. Elements of this liturgy were extant earlier but only appeared in their fully developed form in the 10th century.[10] At the most crucial part of the ceremony of ordination of priests in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical (*c.* 950–62), references to the Eucharist are recurrent. A prayer requests that "through the offering of your people may they [the priests] transform the bread and wine into the body and blood of your Son by the undefiled blessing …"[11] The ceremony continues, with the bishop acting to ordain the priest:

> Having finished the prayer, taking the holy oil, let him [the bishop] make the cross on both of his [the priest's] hands saying: *May you deign, O Lord, to consecrate and sanctify these hands through this anointment and our benediction, so that whatever they correctly consecrate may be consecrated*

10 There is a reference to the consecration of hands, albeit without a full description of the ceremony, in the 8th-century Missale Francorum. See *Missale Francorum* (*Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 257*), (ed.) Leo Cunibert Mohlberg (Rome: 1957), c. 8, 10 (formula 33).

11 *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, (eds.) Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, vol. 1 (Vatican City: 1963–72), c. 16, § 34, 35: "per obsequium plebis tuae panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem filii tui immaculata benedictione transforment […]." For a discussion of ordination, see especially Bruno Kleinheyer, *Die Priesterweihe im römischen Ritus: eine liturgiehistorische Studie* (Trier: 1962), 154–62. Also useful is Sharon L. McMillan, *Episcopal Ordination and Ecclesial Consensus* (Collegeville, MN: 2006).

> *and whatever they bless, may be blessed and sanctified in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* R[esponse]. *Amen.*
>
> Having done this, let him take the paten with offerings and the chalice with wine and let him give [them] to them saying: *Receive the power to offer the sacrifice to God and to celebrate the Mass for the living and for the dead, in the name of the Lord.* R[esponse]. *Amen.*[12]

The ordination ceremony of a priest expresses tangibly the ability of the newly ordained to consecrate the bread and wine. The last prayer cited reveals the scope of the power the priest had: the Mass had the ability to provide unnamed benefits for the living and the dead. Symbolically, too, the priest's power was communicated through the anointing of his hands with holy oil and the *traditio instrumentorum*, the handing over the "instruments" with which the priest would perform the Eucharist, the plate to hold the bread known as the paten, and the goblet to hold the wine known as the chalice. The most widely read medieval liturgist, William Durand (*c.* 1230–1296), recognized these actions as allowing priests to offer the sacrifice:

> They [priests] also receive the chalice with wine and the paten with the host from the hands of the bishop, so that they recognize that with these instruments they have accepted the power of offering acceptable sacrifices, and the body and blood of Christ. Thus when the bishop bestows these on him, he says: 'Accept the power to offer the sacrifice to God, and to celebrate the Mass, for both the living and the dead, in the name of the Lord.'[13]

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12 *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, vol. 1, c. 16, § 35, 35: "Expleta autem oratione, accipiens oleum sanctum faciat crucem super ambas manus dicens: *Consecrare et sanctificare digneris, domine, manus istas per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem, ut quecumque recte consecraverint, consecrentur et quecumque benedixerint, benedicantur et sanctificetur in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. R/. Amen.*
Hoc facto, accipiat patenam cum oblatis et calicem cum vino et det eis dicens: *Accipite potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in nomine domini. R/. Amen.*"

13 William Durand, *Rationale*, vol. 1, lib. 2, c. 10, § 11, 169: "Accipiunt quoque de manu pontificis calicem cum uino et patenam cum hostia, quatenus his instrumentis potestatem se accepisse cognoscant placabiles hostias, et corpus et sanguinem Christi offerendi. Vnde episcopus hec tribuens dicit: 'Accipite potestatem offerre sacrificium deo missamque celebrandi, tam pro uiuis quam pro defunctis, in nomine Domini'." I borrow the translation from *William Durand on the Clergy and their Vestments: A New Translation of Books 2 and 3 of The rationale divinorum officiorum*, trans. Timothy Thibodeau (Scranton, PA: 2010), 120.

The moment of ordination was a subject of interest among other commentators on the liturgy, all of whom identified it as the moment that allowed the priest to consecrate the Eucharist. This understanding held in *The Sentences* of Peter Lombard (*c.* 1096–1164): "When he is ordained, his hands are anointed, so he understands that he has received the grace to consecrate …"[14] This ceremony also impressed Honorius Augustodunensis (1080–1154): "He [the bishop] anoints their [the priests'] hands with chrism, so that everything that they bless may be blessed, to the extent that they keep themselves from every impure work, so that they may be worthy to confect the body of Christ."[15] Sicard of Cremona (*c.* 1150–1215) saw the ordination of a priest as a key moment in assigning him his duties in the Church. It was critical for the bishop to anoint the hands of the priest: "the hands are anointed, so that they are clean for offering hosts for sins, and so that priests may imitate the footsteps of Christ crucified in the works of mercy, those who obtain the power to consecrate from the consecrated Lord."[16] For Sicard the power of the priest flows forth from the Holy Spirit, who confers these gifts on priests.[17]

7.3 Celebrating the Mass in the Middle Ages

Once a medieval priest was ordained, how did he celebrate the Eucharist?[18] Scholars once argued that the early church adopted the worship of Jesus

14 Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum libri IV*, vol. 2, lib. 4, dist. 24, c. 11, § 3, 404: "Qui cum ordinatur, inunguntur ei manus, ut intelligat se accepisse gratiam consecrandi […]" For the translation, see *The Sentences*, trans. Giulio Silano, vol. 4 (Toronto: 2010), 146.

15 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae*, lib. 1, c. 181, PL 72, 599D: "Manus eorum chrismate ungit, ut cuncta quae benedicunt, benedicta sint, quatenus se ab omni immundo opere contineant, ut digne corpus Christi conficere valeant."

16 Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, lib. 2, c. 2, PL 213, 65D: "manus inunguntur, ut mundae sint ad offerendas hostias pro peccatis, et ut Christi crucifixi vestigia sacerdotes in misericordiae operibus imitentur, qui potestatem consecrandi a consecrato Domino sortiuntur."

17 Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, lib. 2, c. 2, col. 65B.

18 The classic guide on the history of the Mass is Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Vienna: 1962). Though individual judgements of his have been challenged, along with the concept of "genetic" development of the title, no work has supplanted it. The work is often cited by the English translation of its second German edition, though Jungmann significantly revised this volume up until its fifth and final edition. A more recent guide for the history of the Mass is Edward Foley, *From Age to Age: How Christians have Celebrated the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN: 2008). An invaluable introduction for the appearance of the medieval Mass is John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*

himself, which was handed down by the apostles but gradually deviated from its original form.[19] This is a position that medieval liturgists themselves would have recognized,[20] but it has largely been abandoned in the modern scholarly world. Debates rage among scholars as to the historicity of the accounts of the Eucharist in the New Testament, especially the Last Supper, and some dismiss them as evidence of later Christian communities projecting later practice into the sacred past.[21] Some scholars identify similar features, referred to collectively as a "shape" among the different Christian rites in the ancient world,[22] but more recent scholars reject the idea of commonalities in early Christian worship and remain skeptical about how much we can know about ancient liturgy at all.[23] The difficulties begin with the sources. We only retain scraps of or short descriptions of ancient liturgies, and it can be hazardous to extrapolate any broader ceremonial flowchart from them, for the Mass or any other form of worship.[24]

Some scholars see the style of the liturgy in the early Middle Ages as a continuation of the relative creativity and freedom of worship of the ancient world, with a slow development toward rigid standardization near or slightly after the end of the Middle Ages.[25] There is some truth in this characterization,

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(Oxford; New York: 1991), 109–26; and for liturgical manuscripts, Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto; Buffalo: 1982).

19 Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Apostolic Tradition," *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, (eds.) Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford; New York: 2006), 32–75.

20 E.g., Walahfrid Strabo (c. 808–849), *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, trans. Alice L. Harting-Correa (Leiden; New York: 1996), c. 23, 126–27.

21 Jerome Kodell, *The Eucharist in the New Testament* (Collegeville, MN: 1991), 22–37; and Eugene LaVerdiere, *The Eucharist in the New Testament and the Early Church* (Collegeville, MN: 1996), 12–26.

22 The primary proponent of this view is Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (London: 1960).

23 Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford; New York: 2002).

24 One of the most famous examples is the ancient description of a Eucharist in Rome by Justin Martyr (*c.* 100–165). For a discussion of the evidence about the liturgy in this author, see Everett Ferguson, "Justin Martyr and the Liturgy," *Restoration Quarterly* 36 (1994): 267–78; and A. Hamman, "Valeur et signification des reseignements liturgiques de Justin," *Studia patristica* 13 (1975): 362–74.

25 This is the characterization of one of the best read histories of medieval worship, Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. John Halliburton (London: 1969).

but it needs significant qualification to be of use. The Eucharistic prayers of the Mass–known as the canon–went through a process like this. In the ancient and early-medieval world, capable priests would often extemporize prayers used for the Eucharist, but these were gradually replaced by standardized written formulae.[26] Even if the canon achieved a standard form relatively early, however, no one would claim this for the Mass as a whole. The historian of the liturgy Robert F. Taft has spoken of "soft points" of the Mass, features in the liturgy that were not fully developed at an earlier stage and were thus susceptible to greater elaboration.[27] This theory has value in analyzing the different kinds of Eucharistic celebrations that flourished in Western Europe, but it does not allow us to chart precisely how they grew or to reconstruct lost liturgies.

In spite of some common features, a visitor to medieval Europe would have encountered a bewildering array of ways to celebrate the Eucharist.[28] Liturgical uniformity was never the norm for medieval Europe in the performance of the Mass or in other liturgies. We should not assume that this situation was considered lamentable: Pope Gregory I (590–604), for instance, thought that as long as people displayed adherence to the same authority and orthodoxy, diverse worship could be freely maintained.[29] Numerous liturgical "families" or rites originated in Western Europe, not all of which are well documented; we cannot trace their lines of development to any degree.[30] Some of the more prominent liturgical traditions of Western Europe include the Gallican rite of Gaul (France),[31] the Visigothic or Mozarabic liturgy of Spain,[32] and the Ambrosian

26 Allan Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Washington, DC: 1981).

27 See especially Robert F. Taft, "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology," *Worship* 52 (1978): 314–29, and reprinted in his *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd ed. (Rome: 1997) as no. X; and idem, "How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine 'Divine Liturgy'," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 43 (1977): 355–78 and reprinted in his *Beyond East and West*, as no. XI.

28 Edward Foley, "A Tale of Two Sanctuaries: Late Medieval Eucharist and the Analogous," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall (Leiden; Boston: 2012), 327–63.

29 Herbert Schneider, "Rom und die liturgische Vielfalt," in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, vol. 2, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 49, (Spoleto: 1994), 1101–40.

30 For an overview of the major rites, see Jordi Pinell i Pons, "History of the Liturgies in the Non-Roman West," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Introduction to the Liturgy*, (ed.) Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: 1997), 179–95.

31 Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul* (Leiden; New York: 1995), 67–71.

32 J.M. Pinell, "Liturgia hispánica," *Diccionario de historia ecclesiástica de España*, (eds.) Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez, and José Vives Gatell, vol. 2 (Madrid: 1972–75), cols. 1303a-1320a.

rite of the city of Milan.[33] It is unlikely that there was a "Celtic rite" in Ireland or England distinct from that of the Gallican rite.[34] The different modes of the celebration of the Mass probably did not develop in isolation, even if we can no longer trace the lines of diffusion and patterns of influence.[35]

Of all of the different liturgical families that developed within Western Europe, most scholars have focused their attention on those that were conducted in the city of Rome. Several interconnected reasons exist for this interest. Roman liturgy has been idealized for its relative simplicity and lack of ornamentation.[36] The popes were the most important bishops in Western Europe.[37] Many cities in Western Europe imitated the papal Mass performed in the city of Rome to some extent.[38] Yet the level of influence from Rome, as with other great cities like Constantinople in the East, was not predictable or even.[39] Even during the Carolingian era, once lauded for its Romanization of the liturgy, there was never any systematic implementation of Roman norms across the Carolingian Empire or forced suppression of local customs of worship.[40] Nor did the Roman Mass remain "pure" or unchanged when it came into contact with other liturgical traditions.[41] The sparse Roman Mass became

33 Pietro Borella, *Il rito Ambrosiano* (Brescia: 1964).

34 Neil Xavier O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: 2011). F.E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: 1881) still contains useful information, but his concept of a "Celtic rite" shared by Britain and Ireland can no longer be sustained.

35 For a classic work of the spread of the liturgy, though most scholars would no longer accept the paths of transmission sketched in it, see Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien. Etude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne,* 5th ed. (Paris: 1925).

36 Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: 1918), 1–19.

37 For the history of the papacy, see especially Roger Collins, *Keepers of the Keys of Heaven: A History of the Papacy* (New York: 2009).

38 For the widespread influence of the Roman form of the Mass, see Hans Bernhard Meyer, *Eucharistie: Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, vol. 1 (Regensburg: 1989), 400–440.

39 Burkhard Neunheuser, "Pluralismo e uniformità nella liturgia della chiesa locale," *Rivista liturgica* 59 (1972): 71–92.

40 Yitzhak Hen, "The Romanization of the Frankish Liturgy: Ideal, Reality, and the Rhetoric of Reform," *Rome across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500–1400*, (eds.) Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne (Cambridge; New York: 2011), 111–23.

41 Theodor Klauser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der fränkischen-deutschen Kirche vom achten bis zum elften Jahrhundert," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 53 (1933): 169–89; and Cyrille Vogel, "Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu'à l'époque de Charlemagne," *Le chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800*, vol. 1, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 7 (Spoleto: 1960), 185–295.

more elaborate when it was performed in Gaul. This was especially true of prayers called apologies that were intended to express the personal unworthiness of the celebrant.[42] After *c.* 1000, the new Romano-Frankish hybrid form of the Mass would find its way back to transform the older worship of the city of Rome. This new mixed form of Mass would percolate through Western Europe with the coming of the Franciscans, and in time spread into the entire Roman Catholic world.[43]

While Rome's liturgical practices came to be seen as authoritative, rare was the case of wholesale suppression of the other liturgical families. The prime example of suppression was the supplanting of the Visigothic or Mozarabic liturgy in Spain by the Roman liturgy in the late-11th century,[44] but this was an exceptional instance. There is little evidence that Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) attempted to wipe out different methods of celebrating the Eucharist in Europe like the Ambrosian rite.[45] Even had popes wanted to eliminate other liturgies, it was not until the advent of the printing press that it was possible to ensure that most locales had the same texts.[46] It was only with the Council of Trent (1545–63) that a standard printed missal outlining the way that Mass was to be celebrated, based on the Roman curial model, was brought into being.[47] Yet after this point, printed books could be supplemented by prayers written in the margins so that traditional prayers that had been "forgotten" from printed versions could continue to be observed in local communities.[48]

In order to appreciate the value of understanding the Mass in the city of Rome, it is necessary to contemplate how best to reconstruct it. Because decisions about the celebration of the Mass in Rome were made by the pope, it makes sense to look at papal sources about the early-medieval Eucharist. A source that has considerable information on the papal liturgy is the series of papal biographies known as the *Liber pontificalis*, which was first compiled in the mid-6th century.[49] Those who study the liturgy have long treasured its

42 Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, 102–6.

43 Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, 133–85; and Klauser, *A Short History,* 96–123.

44 For the suppression of the Visigothic liturgy, see especially Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London; Toronto: 1998).

45 Richard Gyug, "The Milanese Liturgy during the Gregorian Reform," *Scintilla* 2 (1985): 29–65.

46 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 1–5.

47 Meyer, *Eucharistie*, vol. 1, 249–64.

48 A point that is clear from the discussion, though not explicitly stated, in James John Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy and Spiritual Identity: The Choir Books of Kraków* (Turnhout: 2008).

49 For analysis of the *Liber pontificalis* as a source see the works of Herman Geertman, including *More veterum: Il Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda*

information on worship.[50] Glancing through its pages, one can learn the origins of several familiar features of the Roman Mass. Pope Xystus I (*c.* 120) was said to have started the singing of the chant the *Sanctus* in the Roman Mass.[51] The origin of the chant *Gloria in excelsis Deo* was attributed to Pope Telesphor (*c.* 130).[52] Silvester (314–35) decreed that the Mass could only be celebrated on naturally produced linen, not on either silk or dyed cloth.[53] Celestine (422–32) was the first to introduce the introit or entrance antiphon into the Mass.[54] Both Leo I (440–61) and Gregory I were said to have made modifications to the prayers of the Mass.[55] Sergius I (687–701) inserted the chant *Agnus Dei* into the Mass.[56] Without any corroborating evidence, however, it is difficult to evaluate the accuracy of many of these entries, and there is good reason to doubt the historical worth of the most ancient of them. What is more, the reports on the liturgy make no claim to be comprehensive. When the liturgy was of interest to a compiler of the volume, he would make a note of it, but several components of the Roman liturgy are not mentioned at all.

Even if one accepts the accuracy of some of the entries in the *Liber pontificalis*, it would give us little more than an idea of the origin of certain features of the Mass, not the complete ceremony. To gain a more global view, scholars often turn to the late-7th-century First Roman Ordo, a liturgical script that contains the first extant Mass liturgy.[57] This source describes the ornate celebration of Easter Week headed by the pope, who was the main celebrant, and the papal court. The pope, accompanied by the rest of the clergy, rode on

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antichità e nell'alto medioevo (Groningen: 1975); and *Hic fecit basilicam: studi sul Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma da Silvestro a Silverio*, (ed.) Sible de Blaauw (Leuven; Dudley, MA: 2004).

50 This is a process that begins with Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus*, c. 23, 128–47.

51 *Gestorum pontificum Romanorum volumen* I. *Libri pontificalis pars prior*, (ed.) Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: 1898), c. 8, 11.

52 *Gestorum pontificum Romanorum volumen* I. *Libri pontificalis pars prior*, c. 9, 12.

53 "Le biografie del *Liber Pontificalis* dal 311 al 535: Testo e commentario," (ed.) Herman Geertman, in *Hic Fecit Basilicam*, c. 34, 173–74.

54 "Le biografie del *Liber Pontificalis* dal 311 al 535," c. 45, 205. For the interpretation of this notice as referring to the introit, see Joseph Dyer, "*Psalmi ante sacrificium* and the Origin of the Introit," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 20 (2011): 91–121.

55 "Le biografie del *Liber Pontificalis* dal 311 al 535," c. 47, 212; *Gestorum pontificum Romanorum volumen* I. *Libri pontificalis pars prior*, c. 66, 161.

56 *Gestorum pontificum Romanorum volumen* I. *Libri pontificalis pars prior*, c. 86, 215.

57 For a biography of this document, see John F. Romano, "The Fates of Liturgies: Towards a History of the First Roman Ordo," *Antiphon* 11 (2007): 43–77; and for a discussion of its information on the 7th- and 8th-century society of Rome, see idem, *Liturgy and Society*.

horseback to the church in which the Mass was to be performed.[58] The other clergy members dressed the pope in a small building to the side of the church, and then he led a procession to the altar inside the church building.[59] At this point, certain antiphons, readings, and prayers were chanted.[60] Leaders of the laity and clergy handed over bread and wine to the clergy, and then the clergy alone prepared the altar for the rest of the Mass.[61] The most significant and holiest part of this procedure was when the pope chanted the canon, part of the ritual that would transform the bread and wine presented into the body and blood of Jesus.[62] Several clergy members then distributed bread and wine to the laity.[63] After having said the final prayers and having dismissed everyone, the pope and fellow clergy walked out of the church.[64]

This text of the Mass was highly sought after north of the Alps, although it is far easier to see how many manuscripts were copied and preserved rather than how (or if) they were read and imitated. As a result, previous scholarly accounts of the influence of the First Roman Ordo were likely to have been exaggerated.[65] The document is a snapshot of the Mass at the holiest time of the year and would not have accurately represented the papal liturgy across the entire year. It provides us with no information about the humbler Masses being celebrated by priests in the other churches in the city of Rome. The style of worship it describes would have been inapplicable to other cities in Western Europe that imported the document. Few churches would have the funds to supply the furnishings or books employed in the liturgy; none in Western

58 *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, (ed.) Michel Andrieu, vol. 2, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. Etudes et documents 11, 23, 24, 28, 29 (Louvain: 1931–61), 69–76 (OR I:7–28).

59 Ibid. 76–83 (OR I:29–49).

60 Ibid. 83–90 (OR I:50–65).

61 Ibid. 90–95 (OR I:67–87).

62 Ibid. 95–98 (OR I:88–97). For the canon, see *Prex eucharistica, Volumen III, Studia*, (eds.) Albert Gerhards, Heinzgerd Brakmann, and Martin Klöckener (Fribourg: 2005), especially contributions by Bryan Spinks, "The Roman Canon Missae" (129–43) and Josef Schmitz, "Canon Romanus" (281–310).

63 *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 2, 100–107 (OR I:101–22).

64 Ibid. 107–8 (OR I:124–26).

65 Roger E. Reynolds, "The Organisation, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700–900," *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 2, c. 700-c. 900*, (ed.) Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: 1995), 587–621, here 618; S.J.P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, MD: 1960), 49.

Europe would have the requisite number of clergy, and naturally, there was only one pope.[66]

7.4 Trends in Medieval Celebration of the Mass

Although it is impossible to speak about one standard fashion in which priests would celebrate the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, scholars do identify certain recurrent trends, many of which differ from ancient worship. Late antique and early-medieval Masses tended to be large, communal affairs that were generally only celebrated on Sundays.[67] The prime example is the stational liturgy, which was led by the bishop of a city, moved throughout the city to different churches, and represented the primary feast of the city.[68] Masses were believed to be the mutual offering of the universal Church, comprising the clergy and the laity, and benefited all of the faithful.[69] The Eucharist was commonly referred to as a "sacrifice of praise" (*sacrificium laudis*) intended to extol and thank God, not to ask him for anything.[70] This understanding of the Mass would change dramatically with the emergence of the *missa specialis* or votive Mass, starting in late 5th or early 6th century but not fully dominant until the 8th or 9th century.[71] Masses after this point could be sparsely attended or involve little more than a priest and a servant. Rather than an offering for the

66 Aimé-Georges Martimort, *Les "Ordines," les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux* (Turnhout: 1991), 33–35.

67 John F. Baldovin, "The Empire Baptized," *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, 77–130.

68 John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: 1987).

69 Raphael Schulte, *Die Messe als Opfer der Kirche: die Lehre frühmittelalterlicher Autoren über das eucharistische Opfer* (Münster/Westfalen: 1959).

70 Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," *Theological Studies* 35 (1974): 268–87; Josef A. Jungmann, "Von der 'Eucharistia' zur Messe," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 89 (1967): 29–40.

71 Especially notable in this bibliography are Cyrille Vogel, "Une mutation culturelle inexpliquée: le passage de l'eucharistie communautaire à la messe privée," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 54 (1980): 230–50, and Arnold Angenendt, "Missa specialis: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983): 153–221, which was reprinted in his *Liturgie im Mittelalter*, (eds.) Thomas Flammer and Daniel Meyer (Münster: 2005), 111–90. Angenendt's detailed analysis is worthy of careful study, even for those who take issue with his contention that votive Masses had archaic, pre-Christian roots and did not represent genuine Christianity. For some of the debated points about votive Masses, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 156–59.

entire community, votive Masses could be offered up for special intentions.[72] Masses were offered up on a daily basis.[73] These modifications necessitated the introduction of a new liturgical book. Previously, a library of different books was required to conduct the worship, some for the readings, some for music, and some for prayers; at least in part because of the needs of the solitary priest saying Mass, it became much easier to employ the plenary missal, which brought the content from all of these volumes together in one place.[74] Certain priests developed *vade mecums* that contained the texts to facilitate their pastoral duties like celebrating the Mass.[75]

Monasteries had never stood entirely apart from the liturgical trends outside of their walls, for instance adapting stational liturgies so monks could conduct them within monasteries.[76] The votive Mass in particular would lead to a complete rethinking of monastic life.[77] Early monks had avoided becoming priests, and often would attend Masses in local parishes. Between the 7th and 9th centuries, the celebration of votive Masses would become one of a monks' primary duties and became considered a part of proper monastic devotion. An increasing number of monks had to be ordained as priests and far more altars were erected within monasteries to accommodate the regular saying of Masses, sometimes simultaneously.[78] Monastic priesthood would assume special characteristics: at least ideally, monks would only be ordained if their abbot judged them to lead a life of exceptional virtue; and saying the Mass would not be directed toward pastoral ends but would contribute to a monk's piety.[79] Though ordained monks would become commonplace, they

72 Rupert Berger, *Die Wendung "offerre pro" in der römischen Liturgie* (Münster/Westfalen: 1965).

73 Daniel Callam, "The Frequency of Mass in the Latin Church *c.* 400," *Theological Studies* 45 (1984): 613–50. Before Mass was a daily occurrence, Christians would receive the Eucharist in their homes during the week.

74 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 105–6.

75 E.g., *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, (eds.) Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens (Cambridge; New York: 2004).

76 Angelus Albert Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Messhäufigkeit* (Münster/Westfalen: 1973), 187–99.

77 Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*; Otto Nussbaum, *Kloster, Priestermönch und Privatmesse: Ihr Verhältnis im Westen von den Anfängen bis zum hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn: 1961).

78 Cyrille Vogel, "La multiplication des messes solitaires au moyen âge: essai de statistique," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 51 (1981): 206–13.

79 Jean Leclercq, "On Monastic Priesthood according to the Ancient Medieval Tradition," *Studia monastica* 3 (1961): 137–55, here 147–55.

would remain a source of controversy into the 12th century and inspired written defenses of their legitimacy.[80] One underlying source of tension was the remuneration monks gained from saying Masses–revenue that would not flow into the hands of secular clergy or canons.

Monks also began to pray more intensively for one another. Vast confraternities of prayer arose among the members of different monasteries: starting in the 8th century, monks would write the names of deceased brothers in memorial books (*libri memoriales*) and then say Masses for the souls of those listed in them.[81] These prayer unions would grow to encompass the living as well as the dead and would also incorporate secular clergy and nobles. The emergence of the priest-monks led to a devaluation of female religious. The prayers of nuns–once seen as equal to if not greater than those of men–were viewed as lesser because nuns could not say the Mass.[82]

In time the laity would become more distanced from the action of the Mass. The prayers of the Mass would continue to be said in Latin even after it ceased to be spoken in Western Europe.[83] Latin was a language so alien to many of those in Western Europe that some priests did not fully master it.[84] In ancient and early-medieval Masses, all the words of the Eucharist would be said audibly, but many of the prayers, especially the most sacred ones, started to be said in a low voice or inaudibly.[85] The prayer once known as the prayer over the gifts (*oratio super oblata*) would become known as the secret (*secreta*), likely because of the low tone in which it was read in the Gallican rite.[86] Afterward, even when priests said Masses for a congregation, they would

80 Raymonde Foreville and Jean Leclercq, "Un débat sur le sacerdoce des moines au XIIe siècle," in *Analecta monastica* 4, Studia Anselmiana 41 (Rome: 1957), 8–118.

81 See especially *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, (eds.) Dieter Geuenich and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: 1994). During Mass the monks read the names of those in the books or (when the names became too numerous) placed the books on the altar.

82 Gisela Muschiol, *Famula dei: zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern* (Münster: 1994), 305; Mayke De Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden; New York: 1996), 40.

83 For an older, yet still informative, monograph on this subject, see Fred Brittain, *Latin in Church* (Cambridge: 1934).

84 Boniface (d. 754) once accused a fellow priest of having baptized in the name of the *patria* (fatherland) rather than *patri* (of the father), and the daughter (*filia*) rather than of the son (*filii*). Boniface, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, (ed.) Michael Tangl, MGH Epistolae Selectae, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1916), 141 (letter 68).

85 Robert Taft, "Was the Eucharistic Anaphora Recited Secretly or Aloud? The Ancient Tradition and What Became of It," in *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East* (Crestwood, NY: 2006), 15–57.

86 Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 2, 112–21.

speak rather than chant the words.[87] The laity ceased to receive the Eucharist on a regular basis, receiving it as little as once a year and rarely more than three times, while they would never receive the Eucharistic wine at all.[88] Most people were convinced of their unworthiness to receive more frequently, or at very least were afraid of being criticized by others for sanctimoniousness.[89] When people did receive Communion, the ancient tradition of receiving it in their hands was abandoned and they received it in their mouths instead.[90] The former touching and reception of the Eucharist would be replaced by late-medieval veneration of the Eucharist outside the Mass, epitomized by the popular festival of Corpus Christi.[91] For many of the laity, seeing the consecration of the host was the high point of the Mass and afforded special grace; Masses in large cathedrals were staggered so that one could witness several in one Sunday.[92] Some people began to take Communion "spiritually," that is, only contemplating eating it, which allowed them all of the benefits of the Eucharist without ingesting it physically.[93] The ancient tradition of men and women offering their own bread for the Mass came to an end.[94] Offerings of real bread were commuted to money, and the bread itself would be transformed into thin, wafer-like hosts baked without yeast.[95] Although Odo of

87 Klauser, *A Short History*, 105–6.

88 Peter Browe, "Die öftere Kommunion der Laien im Mittelalter," *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge* 6 (1929): 1–28, and reprinted in his *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter: Liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht*, (eds.) Hubertus Lutterbach and Thomas Flammer (Münster: 2003), 67–88. The laity would be expected to take Communion on Easter, but also sometimes on Christmas and Pentecost. The bread could be distributed during or after the Mass.

89 Charles Caspers, "The Western Church during the Late Middle Ages: *Augenkommunion* or Popular Mysticism?" in *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion*, (eds.) Charles Caspers, Gerard Lukken, and Gerard Rouwhorst (Kampen: 1995), 83–97, here 87–90.

90 Béatrice Caseau, "L'abandon de la communion dans la main (IVe-XIIe siècles)," in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, (ed.) Vincent Déroche (Paris: 2002), 79–94.

91 Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: 1991).

92 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: 2005), 95–99; Edouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie* (Paris: 1926).

93 Charles M.A. Caspers, "*Meum summum desiderium est te habere:* l'eucharistie comme sacrement de la recontre avec Dieu pour tous les croyants (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1500)," *Fête Dieu (1246–1996)*, vol. 1 (Louvain: 1999), 126–51, here 135–39.

94 For example, women in Rome baked the bread that would be offered to the clergy. See *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*, (ed.) and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: 1985), 106.

95 Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: 1997), 491–99.

Cambrai (1060–1113) believed that the entire community gave an offering in the Mass, the only thing that the people would actually contribute was vows and prayers, and they would "communicate" not by taking the bread but with the kiss of peace.[96]

To some degree even the architecture of medieval churches began to divert the laity's attention away from the priest and his action on the altar. In time the space of the church would become "fragmented": rather than a singular focus on the altar, different shrines to venerate saints were constructed around the church building.[97] Zones were set aside around the altar where only the clergy could enter and were blocked off by an altar rail and gate.[98] More extensive altar or rood screens were erected in the second quarter of the 13th century, which limited what the laity could see.[99]

It was also in the course of the Middle Ages that scholastics began better to define issues surrounding the consecration of the Eucharist. Up until the 12th century, it was unclear who was allowed to perform the consecration. Some academics argued that the words of the consecration alone were effective, meaning that anyone who said them could cause the consecration.[100] The turning point was the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). The council was explicit about who was able to perform the consecration of the Eucharist:

96 Odo of Cambrai, *Expositio in canonem missae*, dist. 2, PL 160, 1057D. For discussion of Odo, see Mary M. Schaefer, "Twelfth-Century Latin Commentaries on the Mass: The Relationship of the Priest to Christ and to the People," *Studia liturgica* 15 (1982–83): 76–86, here 83–84.

97 Franz Alto Bauer, "La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 75 (1999): 385–446.

98 Several contributions are relevant to this theme in *Atti del colloquio internazionale "Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV,"* ed. Sible de Blaauw, *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Historical Studies* 59 (Rome: 2000).

99 *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens*, (ed.) Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Washington, DC: 2006). In this volume, Jacqueline E. Jung, "Seeing through Screens: The Gothic Enclosure as Frame" (185–214) is far more optimistic than most commentators on the role of choir screens, seeing them as framing the visual experience of the laity rather than acting as barriers.

100 Gary Macy, "The 'Invention' of Clergy and Laity in the Twelfth Century," in *A Sacramental Life: A Festschrift Honoring Bernard Cooke*, (eds.) Michael Horace Barnes and William P. Roberts (Milwaukee: 2003), 117–35; and idem, "The Eucharist and Popular Religiosity," *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 52 (1997): 39–58 and reprinted in his *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN: 1999), 172–95.

> Nobody can effect this sacrament except a priest who has been properly ordained according to the Church's keys, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors.[101]

After this point, only ordained priests were able to perform the consecration, due to their line of succession from Jesus and the apostles. Since bishops and priests shared the same ability to consecrate, some scholastics would argue that they were part of the same order of the clergy.[102] Although people had a clear sense of who could celebrate the Eucharist, no consensus was reached as to what exactly happened during the consecration. Theologians openly debated the nature of the change that occurred to the bread and wine during the consecration and to what degree Jesus' real presence existed in the consecrated elements.[103] Even after the Fourth Lateran Council, not everyone embraced the doctrine of transubstantiation.[104] Philosophical theologians in the 13th and 14th centuries endeavored to show how belief in the Eucharist could be reconciled with Aristotelian metaphysics.[105] Until the 13th century, no one standard opinion on the moment of consecration or whether the bread and wine were consecrated separately or together had emerged.[106]

The late 11th- and 12th-century Reform Papacy mandated that priests improve their morality to be able to perform the Eucharist. Among the reformers there existed the all-consuming concern that clergy who were guilty of the grave sins under attack–foremost among them, simony and Nicolaitism–may not be able to perform their holy functions like saying Mass and more broadly, conferring salvation.[107] Priests had to have "pure hands" if they were to consecrate.[108]

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101 Tanner, 1.230: "Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiae, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Iesus Christus."

102 Augustine McDevitt, "The Episcopate as an Order and Sacrament on the Eve of the High Scholastic Period," *Franciscan Studies* 20 (1960): 96–148.

103 For an overview of medieval discussion of the Eucharist, see Burkhard Neunheuser, *Eucharistie im Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Freiburg; Basel; Vienna: 1963), 11–44.

104 Gary Macy, "The 'Dogma of Transubstantiation' in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994): 11–41; and reprinted in his *Treasures from the Storeroom*, 81–120.

105 Marilyn McCord Adams, *Some Later Medieval Theories of the Eucharist: Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, Duns Scotus, and William Ockham* (Oxford; New York: 2010).

106 V.L. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944): 121–50, here 126–37.

107 Johannes Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: 1984), 67–9, 72–73, 175–83, and 235–50.

108 Arnold Angenendt, "'Mit reinen Händen': Das Motiv der kultischen Reinheit in der abendländischen Askese," in *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur: Beiträge zur Geschichte des*

This meant that they would need to refrain from spilling blood, and of greater concern, from sex.[109] Monks who had been offered to monasteries as children came to be viewed as saying potent Masses because they were virginal.[110] Cluniac monks had a horror of pollution, washing their hands and saying confession before celebrating the Eucharist lest they be miraculously hindered from saying their appointed Masses.[111] So while monks had become more like priests in devoting their time to celebrating the Eucharist, priests became more monastic in embracing strict celibacy.[112]

More than anyone, the reformer Peter Damian (*c.* 1007–1073) stressed the incongruity of priests' having sex and performing the Mass.[113] Some of Damian's writings against priests who "fornicated" or engaged in any intercourse[114] condemned them forcefully:

> Why, o priest, you who should give a holy thing, that is you should offer the sacrifice to God, do you not dread beforehand to sacrifice yourself as a victim to the evil spirit? By fornicating, you cut yourself off from the members of Christ, and you become the body of a prostitute… Do you not know that the Son of God chose for himself purity of the body to such a degree that he was incarnated not even from conjugal chastity, but rather from a virginal womb? And since it does not seem enough that only his mother was a virgin, it is the faith of the Church that the one who imitated a father would also be a virgin. Therefore if our Redeemer so loved the integrity of modesty that not only was he born from the womb

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Mittelalters, (ed.) Georg Jenal (Stuttgart: 1993), 297–316, and reprinted in his *Liturgie im Mittelalter*, 245–67.

109 Amy G. Remensnyder, "Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076," *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, (eds.) Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: 1992), 280–307; *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, (ed.) Michael Frassetto (New York: 1998). It has been argued that daily Mass contributed to the origin of priestly celibacy. See Raymund Kottje, "Das Aufkommen der täglichen Eucharistiefeier in der Westkirche und die Zölibatsforderung," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 82 (1971): 218–28.

110 De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, 137–38.

111 Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order & Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000–1150*, trans. G.R. Edwards (Ithaca, NY: 2002), 200–206.

112 Angenendt, "'Mit reinen Händen'."

113 *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, (ed.) Kurt Reindel, vol. 2, MGH (Munich: 1983–93), 43–51 (letter 47) and 206–18 (letter 61); and Peter Damian, *Contra intemperantes clericos*, cc. 4, 7, PL 145, 393–94, and 410–13.

114 For the term "fornication" in this context, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford; New York: 1998), 551–53.

> of a virgin, but also he was touched by a virgin foster-father, and this while he was still a baby crying in the crib, by whom now for God's sake does his body wish to be touched, when now he reigns infinitely in heaven?[115]

As the chastity of priests became a major topic of concern, women would become entirely excluded from the altar. This would be a departure from the early Middle Ages, when women could still be "ordained." The term originally had a different and far more restricted significance than it would later acquire: it meant that someone would be commissioned to undertake a specific task, whether clerical or lay.[116] In this capacity women could often assist at the altar, though there is no reliable record of their having consecrated the Eucharist. It should be noted that there were services in which the Eucharist was distributed (though not consecrated) that could be led by nuns, although the extent and chronology of the phenomenon remains obscure.[117]

Gradually, a host of requirements dictated the proper performance of the Mass. Only a meticulous observance of the proper outward form could guarantee the benefits issuing from the Mass.[118] Exemplary of this ordered approach to celebrating the Mass was the liturgical work of Regino of Prüm (d. 915), whose handbook was intended to provide guidelines for the visitation of a bishop to a local parish. Although idealized, his work gives an idea of the numerous, complex, and onerous requirements for priests who celebrated the Eucharist. Some had to do with the priest's preparation to say the Mass.

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115 *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, vol. 2, 214 (letter 61): "Cur, o sacerdos, qui sacrum dare, hoc est sacrificium Deo debes offerre, temetipsum prius maligno spiritui non vereris victimam immolare? Fornicans enim a Christi te membris abscidis, et meretricis corpus efficeris … Numquid ignoras Dei filium adeo carnis elegisse mundiciam, ut ne quidem de pudicitia coniugali, sed de clausula potius incarnatus sit virginali? Et ne hoc sufficere videatur, ut tantummodo virgo sit mater, aecclesiae fides est, ut virgo fuerit et is, qui simulatus est pater. Si igitur redemptor noster tantopere dilexit floridi pudoris integritatem, ut non modo de virgineo utero nasceretur, sed etiam a nutricio virgine tractaretur, et hoc cum adhuc parvulus vagiret in cunis, a quibus nunc, obsecro, tractari vult corpus suum, cum iam inmensus regnat in caelis?"

116 Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford; New York: 2008). Macy owes much of his concept of ordination to Yves Congar, "Note sur une valeur des termes 'ordinare, ordinatio'," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 58 (1984): 7–14.

117 Jean Leclercq, "Eucharistic Celebrations without Priests in the Middle Ages," *Worship* 55 (1981): 160–68. As Leclercq notes, this is certainly a question that requires further research.

118 Hubertus Lutterbach, "The Mass and Holy Communion in the Medieval Penitentials: Liturgical and Historical Perspectives," *Bread of Heaven*, 61–83, here 73–75.

A priest had to remain pure, free from sex and murder.[119] He had to be fasting.[120] A priest needed to have proper vestments.[121] A host of strictures dictated the action of the Mass itself. A priest needed to have another clergyman in attendance, at least in part because several of the responses of the Mass would have made little sense with no one else in attendance.[122] A priest was not to sing Mass before the third hour.[123] Priests were required to mix wine and water during the sacrifice.[124] Priests had to consume any bread and wine remaining after the Mass.[125] Priests also had to focus on their performance during the Mass, learning the prayers by heart, understanding them, and pronouncing them clearly.[126] Other chapters gave more general advisements. A priest needed to have Eucharist on him at all times to distribute to dying people.[127] A priest was the only one who had access to Communion: he could not give it to a layperson to bring it to someone else.[128] Priests were not to say Masses in private houses or outside the church building.[129] Women were to be barred from approaching the altar, touching the chalice, or entering the sacristy.[130]

It is difficult to know how much the average priest would have known or followed the rules for the correct performance of the Eucharist. Although some priests may have received university training, the vast majority of priests learned their trade through an apprenticeship system and their quality must have been largely determined by whoever taught them.[131] John Mirk's 14th-century vernacular poem *Instructions for Parish Priests* describes what the priest was supposed to teach his parishioners, but was also likely designed to

119 Regino of Prüm, *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, (ed.) and trans. Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: 2004), 78–81 (questions 85–100).

120 Ibid. 28–29 (question no. 31) and 110–11 (question no. 190).

121 Ibid. 74–77 (question no. 81).

122 Ibid. 28–29 (question no. 27), 112–13 (question no. 193) and 116–17 (question no. 210).

123 Ibid. 28–29 (question no. 30) and 108–9 (question no. 188).

124 Ibid. 32–33 (question no. 66) and 66–67 (question no. 67).

125 Ibid. 34–35 (question no. 67).

126 Ibid. 36–37 (question no. 83).

127 Ibid. 68–71 (questions nos. 70–71)

128 Ibid. 86–87 (question no. 121).

129 Ibid. 94–95 (questions nos. 133–34).

130 Ibid. 30–31 (question no. 41) and 114–15 (question no. 200).

131 Christopher M. Bellitto, "Revisiting Ancient Practices: Priestly Training before Trent," *Medieval Education,* (eds.) Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski (New York: 2005), 35–49, here 41–42; Kathleen Comerford, *Ordaining the Catholic Reformation: Priests and Seminary Pedagogy in Fiesole, 1575–1675* (Florence: 2001), 3–12.

refresh his memory on the things he had to know about the Mass. This practical guide for priests contains pieces of information regarding the Eucharist. It has nothing in the way of theological discourses in it: the faithful had to be told that the consecrated bread and wine were Jesus' body and blood, but no more complex variation on this belief.[132] Several parts talk about the laity's treatment of the Eucharist. They were encouraged to receive it[133] and told how to do so: not to chew the host too small so that it would stick in their teeth, and that it was best to drink unconsecrated wine and water afterward to wash it down.[134] The host was to be treated with reverence, requiring that the layperson kneel down upon seeing it at Mass or when the priest was carrying it.[135] Doing so could confer special benefits like guaranteeing the person would not lack food, would be forgiven for saying idle words, would not die suddenly, and would not become blind.[136] The handbook also directed advice only useful to priests. Several sections regulate how the priest is to say Mass: he cannot be in a state of mortal sin;[137] he needs to obtain the correct items for the sacrifice, such as clean altar cloths, wax candles, hosts made of wheaten flour, and wine that had not soured;[138] and he must know how to react when certain mishaps occur, such as when he forgets the bread or wine or if the wine drips out of the chalice.[139]

According to this manual, the priest also had to care for the Eucharist outside of Mass. He was to bear the host with him to give to people close to death.[140] He was to tell anyone so sick that he or she would vomit up the Eucharist that the desire for the host was sufficient.[141] The host had to be kept safe by the priest, especially from mice or rats, and if any piece was lost he had to search for it.[142]

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132 *John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests: Edited from* MS *Cotton Claudius A II and Six Other Manuscripts with Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, (ed.) Gillis Kristensson, Lund Studies in English 49 (Lund: 1974), 81–82 (lines 244–53 and 260–64).

133 Ibid. 71 and 81 (lines 81–82 and 240–43).

134 Ibid. 80–81 (lines 250–59).

135 Ibid. 83–84 (lines 285–86 and 304–9).

136 Ibid. 85 (lines 312–29).

137 Ibid. 166 (lines 1753–54).

138 Ibid. 166–67 (lines 1757–72).

139 Ibid. 167–70 (lines 1783–1834).

140 Ibid. 171 (lines 1849–50).

141 Ibid. 173 (lines 1883–92).

142 Ibid. 173–74 (lines 1893–1904).

7.5 Imagining the Priest and the Eucharist

As the method of celebrating the Eucharist was hammered out over the course of the Middle Ages, so too was the image of priests as a result of their special connection to the Eucharist. Priests came to be seen in the 12th century as the sole actors in the Mass acting on behalf of Jesus, and any role the laity had in the ceremony became devalued.[143] Because of their role in the Mass, priests were marked out and elevated above other people in society.[144] It was believed that the Eucharist made priests powerful mediators between God and humans.[145] The saying of a Mass would forgive at least the venial sins of the faithful.[146] Masses said for that purpose had the capacity to control the weather.[147] Some Masses could be employed against enemies.[148] The greatest advantage the Mass could provide was to assist people in gaining salvation or easing their passage through the afterlife: Masses could be said to assist the soul of a donor or a deceased family member. The practice of saying Masses for the dead may be due, to some degree, to Gregory I's eschatological views.[149] The number of Masses said for the deceased ballooned in the later Middle Ages, to the point where some say the practice rose to the level of an obsession.[150] The connection between the Eucharist and salvation was strong enough that priests administered the viaticum to those who were about to die as part of their preparation for a holy death.[151]

143 Schaefer, "Twelfth-Century Latin Commentaries on the Mass."

144 Gary Macy, "Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages," *A Companion to the Eucharist*, 365–98, here 366–70.

145 See for example Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. 1, c. 9; PL 217, 780A.

146 Pietro Sorci, *L'eucaristia per la remissione dei peccati: Ricerca nel sacramentario Veronense* (Palermo: 1979); D.A. Tanghe, "L'eucharistie pour la rémission des péchés," *Irénikon* 24 (1961): 165–81.

147 A tendency that can be seen, for instance, in the formulae in the late-7th-century Gregorian Sacramentary. See *Le sacramentaire grégorien, ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, (ed.) Jean Deshusses, vol. 1 (Fribourg: 1971–82), cc. 219–220, 343–44 (formulae 1000–1004).

148 This was true, for instance, in the Crusades. See Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: 2003).

149 Cyrille Vogel, "Deux conséquences de l'eschatologie grégorienne: la multiplication des messes privées et les moines-prêtres," *Grégoire le Grand*, (eds.) Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, and Stan Pellistrandi (Paris: 1986), 268–76.

150 Jacques Chiffoleau, "Sur l'usage obsessionnel de la messe pour les morts à la fin du moyen âge," *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle* (Rome: 1981), 235–56.

151 Peter Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 60 (1936): 1–54, 211–240, and reprinted in his *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 115–72.

The control over the land of the dead spilled over into the land of the living. Bishops could excommunicate those who challenged their authority, a punishment that had far-reaching social consequences but at its heart entailed exclusion from the reception of Communion.[152] A more dire possibility for certain hardened criminals was threatening to deny them their final Eucharist before death.[153]

Masses became the locus for certain Eucharistic miracles, including the transformation of the host into an image of the infant Jesus as the priest celebrated the Mass.[154] Because of its potency there was an inherent danger lurking in the celebration of the Eucharist. The words of the Eucharist were so powerful that they were thought to be harmful if pronounced incorrectly.[155] Since priests were the special ministers of the Eucharist, some feared that they would use the Eucharist to perform certain varieties of magic.[156] Others thought that fraudulent conjurers could perform a kind of demonic anti-Mass in order to win people over to the Antichrist.[157]

Because of its importance for medieval religious practice, the Eucharist was frequently the subject of theological commentary, however diverse in its methods and conclusions.[158] The link between Jesus and the Eucharist emerges clearly from the ordinals–brief, normally early-medieval texts in which each clerical office was imagined as an imitation of Jesus at a particular event in his life.[159] These texts demonstrate the antiquity and dignity of clerical grades and that they were ultimately connected with Jesus himself. Nearly all of the ordinals that

152 Wilhelm Rees, *Die Strafgewalt der Kirche: Das geltende kirchliche Strafrecht, dargestellt auf der Grundlage seiner Entwicklungsgeschichte* (Berlin: 1993), 116–21.

153 Peter Browe, "Die Armensünderkommunion," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 59 (1935): 246–67; and reprinted in his *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 51–65.

154 Peter Browe, "Die eucharistischen Verwandlungswunder des Mittelalters," *Römische Quartalschrift* 37 (1929): 137–69; and reprinted in his *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 265–89.

155 This can be seen in some Irish sources. Joseph H. Crehan, "The Theology of Eucharistic Consecration: Role of the Priest in Celtic Liturgy," *Theological Studies* 40 (1979): 334–43, here 335–36.

156 Generally on magic in the clerical underworld, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge; New York: 1989), 151–75.

157 Jeffrey Hamburger, "Bosch's 'Conjuror': An Attack on Magic and Sacramental Heresy," *Simiolus* 14 (1984): 4–23.

158 Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology* (Collegeville, MN: 1988).

159 See Chapter 6 of this volume. See also Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Berlin; New York: 1978), especially the chart with the contents of the ordinals on 165–91.

deal with priests had to do with the Eucharist in one form or another. Priests were said to act like Jesus when they blessed, broke, and gave bread; blessed and gave bread; or simply changed bread and wine. William Durand would transmit this tradition and build upon it:

> Christ performed this office [of a priest] when, after the Last Supper, He converted bread and wine into His Body and Blood, through divine power, saying to His Apostles: *Take and eat; this is my Body*. The practice of this office was the most lofty, since He offered Himself to the Father on the altar of the cross, for the sins of the human race, being bishop, priest and sacrifice at the same time; and after fulfilling this task, he entered His glory, and seated at the right hand of the Father He intercedes for us.[160]

The relationship between the priest and the Eucharist could also be conceived as a component of an allegory. Priests at Mass were believed to be prefigured by the biblical priest Melchisedech, an obvious association because his name appeared in a prayer of the canon.[161] The greatest practitioner of the allegorical reading of the liturgy in the Middle Ages was Amalar of Metz (*c*. 775–*c*. 851).[162] Amalar viewed the sacrifice of the Mass as a representation of the passion of Jesus. The priest was seen to act in the person of Jesus in the Eucharist: "The priest takes the bread in his hands on the example of Christ…"[163] The priest had a major role in Amalar's allegorical reading:

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160 William Durand, *Rationale*, vol. 1, lib. 2, c. 10, § 14, 170–71: "Hoc officium Christus exercuit quando post cenam panem et uinum in corpus et sanguinem sum diuina uirtute conuertit, dicens apostolis: *Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum* etc. [Mt. 26:26] Excellentius quoque hoc officio usus est, cum pro peccatis humani generis se ipsum in ara crucis optulit Patri, idem episcopus, sacerdos et hostia, et adhuc gloriosius implet dum, sedens ad dexteram Patris, interpellat pro nobis." For the translation, see *William Durand on the Clergy and their Vestments*, 121–22

161 *L'ordinaire de la messe: texte critique, traduction et études*, (eds.) and trans. Bernard Botte and Christine Mohrmann (Paris: 1953), 82 (*Supra quae*). For biblical references to Melchisedech, see Gen 14:18–20, Ps 110:4, and Heb 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:1, 10–11, 15, 17, and 21.

162 On Amalar's reading of the liturgy, see especially Herbert Schneider, "Roman Liturgy and Frankish Allegory," in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, (ed.) Julia M.H. Smith (Leiden; Boston: 2000), 341–79.

163 Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis*, in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, (ed.) J.M. Hanssens, Studi e testi 138–40, vol. 3 (Vatican City: 1948–50), lib. 3, c. 24, § 4, 338: "Accipit sacerdos panem manibus suis exemplo Christi…" This work has recently been translated: Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, trans. Eric Knibbs, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA; London: 2014).

> The priest who lifts the offering represents Nicodemus, of whom John narrates … The priest makes the offerings into two crosses next to the chalice, so that he may teach that he was taken down from the cross, he who was crucified for the two peoples. The elevation of the priest and deacon shows the deposition of Christ from the cross.[164]

Bernold of Constance (*c.* 1050–1100), in his *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, agreed with Amalar's reading that the Mass represented the passion, and further extended the allegory.[165] For Bernold, the priests continually recreated the passion, resurrection, and actions of Jesus while celebrating the Eucharist. The priest holds his hands out just as Jesus extended his arms on the cross.[166] The fivefold parts in the canon Bernold identified imitated the five wounds Jesus suffered on the cross.[167] The priest bows in the course of saying the prayer *Hanc ergo oblationem*, just as Jesus' head bowed on the cross when he was giving up the spirit.[168] The priest also assumes the role of other actors in the passion besides Jesus: when the priest raises his voice to say the prayer *Nobis quoque*, he imitates the centurion who proclaimed that Jesus was truly the Son of God.[169] When the priest makes four crosses over the chalice with the host and says the prayer *Per ipsum*, the action signifies the wound in the side of Jesus.[170] Bernold also adopted a variation on Amalar's interpretation of the elevation:

> When we say: *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* [*Forever and ever*], we raise the body with the chalice, and at once, having laid it down on the altar, we cover it: Because Joseph too lifted the Lord's body from the cross and having laid it down in the tomb, covered it with a stone.[171]

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164 Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis*, in *Amalarii episcopi opera*, lib. 3, c. 26, § 10, vol. 3, 346–47: "Sacerdos qui elevat oblatam praesentat Nichodemum, de quo narrat Iohannes… Sacerdos facit oblata duas cruces iuxta calicem, ut doceat eum depositum esse de cruce, qui pro duobus populis crucifixus est. Christi depositionem de cruce monstrat elevatio sacerdotis et diaconi." Nicodemus appears in Jn. 19:39–40.

165 Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of its Interpretation*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: 1999), 174.

166 Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, c. 16; PL 151, 987C.

167 Ibid. c. 16, col. 987C.

168 Ibid. c. 16, col. 987D. See Jn. 19:30.

169 Ibid. c. 17, col. 988A. See Mt. 27:54; Mk. 15:39; and cf. Lk. 23:47.

170 Ibid. c. 17, col. 988A. See Jn. 19:34.

171 Ibid. c. 17, col. 988B: "Cum dicimus: *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, corpus cum calice levamus, et statim in altari deposita cooperimus: Quia et Joseph corpus Dominicum de cruce

When the priest reunites the pieces of the bread he broke on the paten and says the *Pax Domini*, it signifies the combination of the body and soul in the resurrection of Jesus.[172] When the priest offers peace to the people after the distribution of Communion, it is similar to when Jesus offered peace to his disciples after the resurrection.[173] The blessing of the priest after the post-communion prayer resembled the discourse of the angels who spoke to the people assembled after the Ascension, since in both cases people left these events in joy.[174]

While the imagery of priests and the Eucharist often displayed these dramatic tendencies, there were also more mundane aspects to this interplay. Artwork depicting priests' celebrating the Mass exists from medieval Europe, showing this was an important part of their public presentation.[175] Some of these images were related to theological themes about the Eucharist or were designed to show the dignity of the priesthood. The performance of the Eucharist played such an important role in the lives of priests that its presence is reflected in their writing. This is true even in works that do not primarily focus on the Eucharist: words from the Mass appeared in the works of clerical historians, albeit to different degrees.[176] Even as priests gained a more elevated sense of themselves because of the Eucharist, they still poked fun at the source of their status. Priests composed liturgical parodies in which they manipulated the words of the Mass for their own entertainment.[177]

From what little we can surmise from surviving sources, the laity tended to respect the authority of priests when it came to the Eucharist. The 9th-century Frankish noblewoman Dhuoda urged her son William to revere priests and

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levavit, et in sepulcro depositum lapide cooperuit." See Mt. 27:58–60, Mk. 15:46, Lk. 23:53, and Jn. 19:40–42.

172 Ibid. c. 17, col. 988C-D.

173 Ibid. c. 20, col. 990A. See Lk. 24:36; and Jn. 20:19, 21, and 26.

174 Ibid. c. 20, col. 990C. See Acts 1:9–12.

175 See for instance Elizabeth Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France: Iconography and Theology* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: 2006); Dany Sandron, "Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Les ambitions de la sculpture de la nef romane," *Bulletin monumental* 153 (1995): 333–50; Roger E. Reynolds, "Image and Text: A Carolingian Illustration of Modifications in the Early Roman Eucharistic Ordines," *Viator* 14 (1983): 59–75, and reprinted in his *Clerical Orders* as no. VIII.

176 Leonid Arbusow, *Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter* (Bonn: 1951). Despite this study, many editors still neglect to identify liturgical citations in the authors they edit.

177 John F. Romano, "*Ite potus est:* Liturgical Parody and Views of Late-medieval Worship," *Sacris erudiri* 48 (2009): 275–309. The canon, however, was too sacred for this kind of parody.

their duties in sanctifying and distributing the Eucharist.[178] In late-medieval England, the laity held special reverence for the ritual of the Mass and exalted the clergy because of their ability to consecrate the Eucharist.[179] Visitation reports demonstrate that the laity expected priests to celebrate Mass regularly and complained if they did not.[180] Some sources directed deeper criticisms toward priests. Old French fabliaux show that the laity occasionally mocked priests who did not live up to their own high standards, especially when it came to having sex.[181] Images of priests on English misericords depict them as ravenous wolves saying Mass, ready to take advantage of their congregation even as they attended to their sacred duties.[182] Clerical immorality was after all a significant problem: it not only called into question the effectiveness of priests' sacrifice, but also endangered the salvation of their congregations.

Heretical groups explicitly rejected many of the claims of priests based upon the Eucharist. One of the foundational scholars of medieval religion, Herbert Grundmann, argued that many of the heretical movements of the later Middle Ages stemmed from a widespread acceptance of the need for a pure priesthood; if the priests did not lead moral lives, some people chose to reject the hosts that they consecrated.[183] In this, they scorned the long-standing orthodox position elaborated first by Augustine of Hippo (354–430) that the efficacy of the sacraments did not depend upon the personal worthiness of the priest.[184] Some Waldensians maintained that if no worthy priest could be found, anyone could assume a position of leadership in the liturgy and consecrate the bread and wine.[185] At least some of the members of this group were

178 Anne C. McGuire, "Liturgy and Laity in the Ninth Century," *Ecclesia Orans* 13 (1996): 463–94, here 472–73, 476.

179 Daniel E. Thierry, *Polluting the Sacred: Violence, Faith and the "Civilizing" of Parishioners in Late Medieval England* (Leiden; Boston: 2009), 77–90.

180 R.N. Swanson, "Problems of the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation England," *The English Historical Review* 105 (1990): 845–69, here 848.

181 Daron Burrows, *The Stereotype of the Priest in the Old French Fabliaux: Anticlerical Status and Lay Identity* (Oxford: 2005), 54–59, 147, 152, 193, and 199–201.

182 Christa Grössinger, *The World Upside-Down: English Misericords* (London: 1997), 77–78 and 161.

183 Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, IN: 1995), 7–9 and 40–42.

184 Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, New Edition (Berkeley, CA: 2000), 212–21. Scholastics would later give this concept the formal term *ex opere operato*. Kimberly Hope Belcher, *Efficacious Engagement: Sacramental Participation in the Trinitarian Mystery* (Collegeville, MN: 2011), 133.

185 Macy, "The 'Invention of Clergy'," 126–27.

convinced that only those who lived in apostolic poverty could consecrate the Eucharist.[186] The Bohemian Reformation sought to allow the laity to receive more frequently, including the Eucharistic wine, as well as to restore the vernacular in the celebration of the liturgy.[187] Eventually the 16th-century Reformation attacked the special power of priests derived from the Eucharist.[188] Several reformers stressed the priesthood of all believers and insisted that the Eucharist should be received frequently and be made available to all as both bread and wine. They eschewed the belief that benefits, including those for the souls of the deceased, could come from votive Masses and, thus, brought an end to the practice. Yet the resources of the Mass allowed priests to fight back against heretics. The best theory of the origin of the elevation of the host during the Mass is that it was introduced to battle against the body-hating heretics of the 12th century.[189]

7.6 Conclusion

The celebration of the Eucharist was among the basic duties of priests in the Middle Ages. As a result, both the anointment of a priest's hands and the handing over of the instruments necessary to carry it out were incorporated into the ceremony of ordination for priests. However, it is impossible to reconstruct exactly how priests performed the Mass throughout medieval Europe, in part because of the paucity of sources, but largely because diversity rather than uniformity dictated the form of the medieval Mass. Throughout the course of the Middle Ages, this variety in how the Mass was celebrated would persist, though some widespread trends can be discerned. The most prominent of these was the development of the votive Mass, which gave priests power over

186 Gabriel Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c. 1170-c. 1570* (Cambridge; New York: 1999), 53–55.

187 David R. Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context," *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, (ed.) David R. Holeton, vol. 1 (Prague: 1996), 23–47; and idem, "The Evolution of Utraquist Liturgy: A Precursor of Western Liturgical Reform," *Studia liturgica* 25 (1995): 51–67.

188 Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge; New York: 2006); William T. Cavanaugh, "Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Social Imagination in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 585–606; and Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Social History of Communion and the Reformation of the Eucharist," *Past & Present* 211 (2011): 77–119.

189 G.G. Grant, "The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy," *Theological Studies* 1 (1940): 228–50.

the souls of the deceased. As a whole, the Mass tended to be increasingly monopolized by priests, whereas the laity, and all women, grew separate from the celebration of the Mass. This mastery of the Eucharist set priests apart as a separate and superior caste over the laity, and allegorical interpretations of the Mass imagined priests as representing Jesus or other biblical figures. The priests' exalted position came with special responsibilities. Some of these were the many practical aspects of preparing to celebrate the Mass, but priests also had to maintain their purity–above all, abstaining from sex–to be able to celebrate the Mass. The status priests gained from their unique role would become a source of criticism and, in time, would be rejected by some heretics and Protestant reformers. Although we understand well some of the main features of the relationship between priests and the Eucharist, the theme has hardly been exhausted by scholars, and merits more intensive research.

CHAPTER 8

The Priesthood and the Sacrament of Marriage

Charles J. Reid, Jr.

8.1 Introduction

The priesthood played an important, if not paradoxical role, in the development of the sacrament of marriage. Of the sacraments of the Church, marriage has the most tenuous connection with Holy Orders. In the West, at least, most priests are unmarried and may not even serve as the ministers of the sacrament of matrimony. The parties minister the sacrament to one another, the priest serving merely as an official witness.

But this paradox is only apparent, not real. Historically, the priesthood has exercised a great deal of influence over the shape of marriage as a sacrament, and in its turn, marriage has even influenced the shape and direction of the priesthood.

We can see this paradoxical influence of Holy Orders upon marriage in three primary areas: the writings of the great patristic authors, especially Augustine and Ambrose; the ascetical ethics of the monk-authors of the early medieval pentitentials; and the creation of a law and discipline of marriage by the high medieval canonists, especially with respect to marital formation.

A review of the relationship of the priesthood and marriage covering these three topics will reveal the symbiosis that did exist between these two sacraments. On the one hand, as the Western priesthood gradually adopted the norm of celibacy, church fathers spiritualized the naturally-occurring fruitfulness of marriage as a means of explaining the bounteous gifts a chaste life would confer on priests and, by extension, the Church. At the same time, priests and monks worked to fashion the norms that would govern lay Catholics for upwards of a millennium and a half. The writings of these clerics would define the contours of sexual ethics, while at the same specifying that it was the parties themselves, neither their parents, nor their pastors or their priests, who were the proper ministers of marriage. Finally, we briefly consider the way these ideas were synthesized at the Council of Trent.

8.2 Ambrose and Augustine: Virginity, Marriage, and Fruitfulness

The writings of the great church fathers, especially Ambrose and Augustine, would come to have a large impact on the relationship of the priesthood and

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marriage, especially as knowledge of their works was transmitted to the high and late Middle Ages through florilegia and proliferating collections of canon law.[1]

Ambrose would contribute decisively to the shaping of both marriage and the priesthood through the dialectical tension he perceived between marriage and virginity. Virginity, to Ambrose, was not about barrenness. It was not renunciation. It was, rather, an exciting alternative way of embracing and expressing sacrificial and fruitful love. In developing this line of thought, Ambrose pointedly rejected classical models of virginity. The Vestal Virgins of early Rome, who foreswore sexual relations to symbolize their single-minded vigilance to defend Rome's earthly honor and glory, stood for nothing but a sterile and transient materialism.[2] For Ambrose, however, virginity was all about marriage and fecundity by another means.

Ambrose worked in a milieu that differed greatly from the Apostolic Age or even that of Gallo-Roman late antiquity. Ambrose was descended from an old and respected leading family–his father had served as the praetorian prefect of Gaul.[3] As a young man, he studied law in Rome and entered public life, where he rose swiftly. By age 32, in the year 372, Ambrose was appointed governor of Italy's northern provinces, with his capital city in Milan. Two years later, called upon to quell a riot between competing factions following the death of the Arian bishop of Milan, Ambrose found himself elected by both factions to become the new bishop.[4] But while Ambrose was undeniably a very political man, his thoughts often transcended the things of this world. He could write movingly and sympathetically on a variety of spiritual themes. And his two principal treatises on virginity, *De Virginibus* and *De Virginitate*,

1 Gratian in his preface acknowledges the debt he owes both to Ambrose and to Augustine. See Augustine Thompson and James Gordley, *The Treatise On Laws* (*Decretum DD. 1–20*) *With the Ordinary Gloss* (Washington, DC: 1993), 56. Henri de Lubac discusses the means by which Ambrose and Augustine were transmitted to the theological writers of the middle ages in Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: 1998), 1–14.

2 Ambrose makes these claims in Letters 72 and 73, to the Emperor Valentinian, in the year 384. For translations, see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose of Milan: Political Speeches and Letters* (Liverpool, UK: 2005), 66–94. Ambrose's attack on the Vestal Virgins occurred in the context of the pagan aristocrat Symmachus's petition to the Emperor to maintain this venerable old custom that, thanks to Ambrose's vigorous opposition, was soon extirpated, supplanted by a very different type of virginal witness. See Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and State in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley, CA: 1994), 166–67.

3 Joseph N. Tylenda, *Saints and Feasts of the Liturgical Year* (Washington, DC: 2003), 269.

4 Vivian Hubert Howard Green, *A New History of Christian Life* (New York: 2000), 37.

are emblematic of the spiritual dimension of this profound doctor of the Western church.

Both of these treatises take their origin in a favor Ambrose's older sister Marcellina beseeched of him. Sometime in the early 350s, while Ambrose was still an adolescent, she had become a professed virgin, and now that her younger brother had been consecrated the new bishop of Milan, might he preach a series of sermons on virginity for the good of the nuns entrusted to her care?[5] In the year 377, Ambrose obliged her with a pair of works that have since acquired enduring significance.

One can identify in these works a series of concentric paradoxes as Ambrose developed the theme of virginity as spiritual fruitfulness and the highest form of love. Ambrose grounded his argument on a robust conception of earthly physical marriage. Indeed, he emphasized that virginity could not exist without fruitful physical marriage as a foundation since it is through such marriage that the succeeding generations of virgins take their place.[6] "He who condemns marriage condemns children," Ambrose declared, and that person in turn "condemns in fact the survival of all human society."[7] Reflecting on the goodness of marriage, Ambrose reminded his listeners that they did not have to search very far to find outstanding examples of loving married women. Just consider Sarah and Rebecca and the other wives and mothers of the Old Testament.[8] They birthed and raised the patriarchs, the mighty precursors and figurative founders of the faith.[9]

But, Ambrose declared, our new class of virgins in their own way have imitated and even surpassed these grand figures of the past. For sure, our virgins will not marry physical, bodily husbands, but such men are bound to be disappointments.[10] After all, husbands are a demanding lot who will expect unattainable outward beauty from their wives, or who will place undue burdens on

5 Boniface Ramsey, *Ambrose* (London: 1997), 17.

6 Ambrose, *De Virginibus* 1.35.

7 Ibid., 1.34. (I am here following the translation of James Schiel, *Ambrose: Given to Love* (Chicago: 1963), 31).

8 Ibid. Ambrose singled out Rebecca again in his treatise *De Abraham*, when he praised her for her surpassing marital modesty. See Ambrose, *De Abraham*, 1.9.93. Cf. William Joseph Dooley, *Marriage According to Ambrose* (Washington, DC: 1948), 33.

9 Ambrose, *De Virginibus*, 1.34.

10 Wives, Ambrose noted, will inevitably find themselves compelled to perform "menial ministrations and servilities … towards their men." Ibid. 1.27 (Shiel trans., 28). In *De Virginitate*, Ambrose added that even in the best of marriages, the parties are yoked to one another, by "golden" chains to be sure, but chains nonetheless. Ambrose, *De Virginitate*, para. 32.

them, and worry them with needless cares or anxieties.[11] But virgins will never have to cope with capricious husbands,[12] since their spouse is Jesus Christ, Lord and Savior, who is perfect in every way and who will never fail those who devote their lives to his service.[13]

This spiritual marriage of virgin with Christ, furthermore, is wondrously fecund. Virgins may never give birth to physical children, but such offspring bring with them their own burdens and distractions.[14] No, the offspring of consecrated virgins are spiritual in nature–souls won for Christ. "You, virgins, know of no pain of pregnancy or childbirth; yet you have your numerous offspring, for the chaste soul has everyone for her child. Assured of descendants, she knows no bereavement and has heirs always."[15]

Furthermore, Ambrose stressed, just as earthly parents of flesh-and-blood children have biblical archetypes to look to for emulation and inspiration, so, too, do virgins. For virgins can look to the Holy Family, Joseph, Mary, and Jesus, but most especially Mary, as a model as to how to lead their lives.[16] Miri Rubin has noted that Ambrose "shaped [Mary] into an example of purity, virtue, and dignity."[17] And, Jaroslav Pelikan added, Ambrose did more than that:

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11 *De Virginibus*, 1.25. ("Let us compare the benefits of wives with even the smallest of those enjoyed by virgins. A lady of rank may boast of her abundant offspring; but the more her children, the more her labours. She may count her sons as so many consolations, but she ought to count them as troubles too. She weds to weep."; Shiel trans., 27).

12 Echoing a dialogue between a daughter and her parents, Ambrose wrote: "Perhaps you even have a husband lined up for me. Well, I have found a better one. You may rave about the riches of your choice, boast of his lineage and possessions, but mine is beyond all such comparisons; he has the riches of the universe, he has power over everything, he has heaven for nobility." Ibid., 1.66.

13 *De Virginitate*, para. 26; *De Virginibus*, 1.37.

14 Look at what mothers must confront, Ambrose sighed. The vexations of nursing and providing for children, while still having sexual relations with their husbands. These burdens intimidate even the most devout parents. Ibid., 1.26. Cf. William Joseph Dooley, *Marriage According to Ambrose*, 121. Daughters, especially, pose problems. One needs to bestow a suitable dowry on them and then find them an appropriate match. And when one does all these things, then the girl's mother discovers that she has lost her daughter to her son-in-law's family. But, Ambrose gave practical advice to mothers: if you permit your daughter to become a consecrated virgin for Christ, you free yourself from this endless cycle of pecuniary and emotional loss. *De Virginibus*, 1.33.

15 Ibid., 1.30 (Shiel trans., 29).

16 One historian has written of Ambrose's portrayal of Mary: "It is the most beautiful picture of the Virgin Mary that … any [early Church] Father painted." Charles William Neumann, *The Virgin Mary in the Works of Saint Ambrose* (Fribourg: 1962), 36.

17 Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: 2009), 26.

he transformed Mary into the great "Mother" of Western theology, the mother without equal, the mother whose submission to divine will not only allowed God to bring forth his only begotten Son, but also gave birth to Christianity itself.[18] In Mary's devoted assent, spiritual and physical fecundity were united as one.[19] And nuns, by their pledge of ever-lasting virginity, became living representatives of Mary's sublimation of self to God's transcendent purposes.[20]

In setting out his case for virginity, Ambrose both borrowed from and strengthened conceptions of actual, physical marriage. Both forms of marriage are richly productive; both are fecund; the offspring of both forms of marriage can be expected to become faithful Christians. In this way, both married life and the chaste observance of a celibate priesthood mutually enhanced and reinforced each other. Virgins, furthermore, reciprocated in their lives Christ's ever-sacrificial yet always undying love. Like Christ, they died to the world by surrendering their claim to physical, carnal children in favor of a greater spiritual love.

To develop this point, Ambrose examined the life of Agnes. Agnes was an aristocratic Roman girl, probably twelve years old, murdered in the Diocletian persecutions of the year 304. Ambrose celebrated her because of the way she surrendered her life in an act of sacrificial love for her spouse, Jesus Christ. When her executioner offered her the possibility of escape by means of an earthly marriage, Saint Agnes responded: "It is an insult to my spouse to think of giving pleasure to another. He who chose me first shall always possess me. Man with the axe, what is holding you up?"[21]

Thus marriage–both spiritual and physical–carries the twin expectations of fecundity and mutual self-giving love. While Ambrose never authored a treatise on marriage, one can glean from portions of his theological writings, such as his commentary on the Gospel of Luke, that these ideals filtered into his more general thought on marriage. Earthly marriage, Ambrose insisted,

18 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, CT: 1996), 119.

19 *De Virginibus*, 2.7–14.

20 David G. Hunter, "The Virgin, the Bride, and the Church: Reading Psalm 45 in Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine," *Church History* 69 (2000), 281, 283; Miri Rubin, "Mary," *History Workshop Journal* 1 (2004), 4.

21 *De Virginibus*, 1.9. Alfred Rush has noted that the connection of virginal martyrdom and marriage is very old in the Christian tradition, dating at least to the late 2nd century. See Alfred C. Rush, "Death as a Spiritual Marriage: Individual and Ecclesial Eschatology," *Vigiliae Christianae* 26 (1972), 87–90. This account of Agnes's martyrdom, transmitted through Ambrose, remained a feature of medieval theologizing. Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (New York: 2000), 55.

was a living sign and symbol of Christ's marriage with His Church–eternal, unbreakable, and filled with self-giving love.[22] Men, Ambrose taught, must treat their wives with loving respect. They cannot stray, they cannot become entangled in adultery, and they must never grow violent or abusive towards their spouses.[23] And women must follow that glorious advice from the book of Proverbs on how to be the good wife: she clothes her husband, she honors him, she manages the household, supports him in his works and deeds, and always preserves her virtue.[24]

In the year 387, Ambrose personally baptized into the faith one of his more promising young acolytes, a North African who had crossed the Mediterranean to teach rhetoric at Milan, one Aurelius Augustinus, known to us as Augustine.[25] In his early thirties, Augustine had been raised by a Christian mother and pagan father but had decided late in his adolescence to go his own way, becoming a Manichaean "auditor."[26] Manichaeism had arisen in 3rd-century Persia, where the movement's founding prophet, Mani, blended elements of all the many faith traditions that had penetrated that crossroads of East and West in an effort to create a synthesis that he hoped might appeal to the entire world.[27]

With his baptism into Christianity, however, Augustine had now left this world behind him and he was soon transformed into Manichaeism's greatest Western foe, an ardent campaigner against all that Manichaeism taught.

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22 Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii Lucae*, 8.9. Cf. Dooley, *Marriage According to Ambrose*, 21–24 (exploring more fully Ambrose's thought on the archetypal marriage of Christ and His Church).

23 Ambrose, *De Abraham*, 2.11.78. Cf. Dooley, *Marriage According to Ambrose*, 29 (evaluating this text).

24 Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii Lucae*, 8.10–12. Cf. Prov. 31: 10–15.

25 Garry Wills, *Font of Life: Ambrose, Augustine, and the Mystery of Baptism* (New York: 2012), 86–122 (richly describing the steps Augustine took to prepare and receive baptism).

26 Vern L. Bullough, Brenda K. Shelton, and Sarah Slavin, *The Subordinated Sex: A History of Attitudes Toward Women*, (Athens, GA: 1988), 99. There were two basic grades of affiliation among the Manichaeans – "auditors" who followed the basic precepts of the movement but who could have sexual relations and procreate; and the "elect" who had renounced earthly pleasures, especially procreation, in an effort to hasten the triumph of light over darkness on earth. See Claudia Leurini, "The Manichaean Church Between Earth and Paradise," in *New Light on Manichaeism: Papers From the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeanism*, ed. Jason David BeDuhn (Leiden: 2005), 169.

27 The evidence indicates that Mani himself had been exposed to elements of Judaism and Christianity from his youth, but that he also drew from Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and his own innate religious creativity in fashioning his new faith. See Johannes van Oort, "Augustine and the Books of the Manichaeans," in *A Companion to Augustine*, (ed.) Mark Vessey (Oxford: 2012), 189–91.

As such, Augustine must have harbored misgivings about sexual continence–he says as much in his *Confessions*–but he was nevertheless confronted with a Christian tradition that greatly prized virginity. And while he felt compelled to defend this Christian practice he also needed to differentiate it from the Manichaean faith he had just jettisoned. Virginity had to be about something other than disparagement of the created order, as it was with Manicheanism, but something of affirming goodness.

In his defense of virginity, Augustine toiled in the same vineyard as his former teacher Ambrose, and he developed and heightened some of the older saint's arguments, especially the nexus that both men understood to connect virginity, fecundity, and marriage.[28] Augustine, as Ambrose had earlier done, placed great emphasis on Mary. Mary, Augustine claimed, is wholly unique: "She is alone both mother and virgin in both the spirit and the flesh."[29] Only Mary imitated "heavenly life in an earthly and mortal body."[30] But even in her uniqueness, Augustine stressed that Mary was as much a daughter of God as she was God's mother on earth; and, in a mystical sense, Christ the great "Bridegroom" was joined to her as much as He is with the rest of the Church.[31] Ambrose's discussion of these relationships was already paradoxical. Augustine moved the paradoxes to a wholly new level of complexity.

Virgins were also fecund like Mary, though only in a spiritual rather than a physical sense. Again, Augustine deepened and developed Ambrose's insights. No mother, Augustine wrote, can truly be said to give birth to Christians.[32] This is because we are not made Christian by the mere accident of our birth in a Christian household but by our training and education in the faith.[33] And this training is entrusted in a particularly central and fecund way to consecrated virgins. They are the brides of Christ, after all, and the spiritual mothers of Christians.[34] "No fruitfulness of the flesh," Augustine declared, "can be compared with holy virginity."[35] This was borne out by the numbers. Unlike natural mothers, who can beget and bear only a few children in a lifetime, virgins are vastly more fertile and may account for huge numbers of spiritual offspring.[36]

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28 Augustine, "De Sancta Virginitate," in *Augustine: De bono coniugali and De sancta virginitate*, (ed.) and trans. P.G. Walsh (Oxford: 2001), 70–73.

29 Ibid., 73.

30 Ibid., 71.

31 Ibid., 70–71.

32 Ibid., 72–77.

33 Ibid., 72–73.

34 Ibid., 66–67.

35 Ibid., 75.

36 Ibid., 74–77.

Like Ambrose, however, Augustine was quick to defend earthly, physical marriage against its critics. And it is in this defense that he affirmed the positive role of marriage in Christian society. For sure, all those summoned to a life of consecrated chastity should strive to follow that vocation.[37] Continence, so Augustine interpreted Paul, ranks above the married life in the heavenly hierarchy of goods.[38] But marriage is not demeaned in the process. It is no "cesspool of sin."[39] There is nothing evil about the physical union of husband and wife.[40] No one should think of marriage as little better than adultery, or an occasion for grave sin.[41]

And, indeed, taking in the whole of Augustine's analysis, one could reach no other conclusions. Marriage is good because virginity is good. Virginity depends on marriage for its metaphors, for its spiritual fruitfulness, for its vitality as a way of life. Marriage and virginity were each bounteous and life-giving. Both were different but complementary ways of expressing Christ's self-giving love. As with Ambrose, so with Augustine, the good of marriage confirmed and reinforced the good of virginity, and vice versa. And so marriage was shaped by the same theologizing that would influence and guide the disciplinary practice of the Western clergy for much of history.

8.3 The Asceticism of the Irish Monks

Augustine wrote not only on virginity, of course, but contributed greatly to the shaping of Western marital sexual ethics. While his thoughts on marriage and sexuality can be found in many parts of his voluminous output, his treatise *De bono coniugali–On the Good of Marriage*–should almost certainly rank as his most significant contribution on this subject.[42]

Marriage for Augustine was predicated on the natural friendship that should prevail between the sexes.[43] God, after all, had created woman from man's side so that they might be companions in love, affection, and mutual support.[44] All men and women, in virtue of their common parentage in Adam and Eve, share

37 Ibid., 74–75.
38 Ibid., 82–83.
39 Ibid., 87.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid., 88–89.
42 Ibid., 2–63.
43 Ibid., 2–3.
44 Ibid.

a blood relationship of a sort, Augustine supposed, and this alone sufficed to ground all marital relationships on deep bonds of kinship and concord.[45]

But Augustine realized that marriage also concerned the most solemn act a couple could undertake jointly–the birth and upbringing of the next generation.[46] Marital sex of Christian and non-Christian spouses alike, he asserted, had to be fundamentally oriented to the fulfillment of this essential human good as a matter of natural law.[47] The sex act, when both parties intended it to be procreative and did nothing to impede the possibility of children, was thus made blameless by reason of marriage.[48]

Married couples, however, did not always intend their sexual relations to be procreative. They might be moved instead by "concupiscence," that richly-textured word carrying connotations of lust, desire, and passionate loss of control.[49] Augustine knew these impulses on a deep and personal level and he understood marriage to rescue men and women from such cravings. In such circumstances, he asserted, the couple sinned, but only venially so long as they did nothing to impede procreation[50]; but, let the couple take affirmative steps to frustrate the birth of offspring and their union actually failed to qualify as a marriage.[51] And, the logic continued, the couple who has excluded the good of children has also committed fornication and thereby sinned mortally.[52]

The practical implications of this teaching are clear: the direct intent to seek sexual pleasure was always at least moderately wrong. And where the intent to seek pleasure was simultaneously joined with the intent to shed the responsibility that comes with intercourse (the possibility, even if vanishingly

45 Ibid., The Latin phrase Augustine used, *cognationis vinculo*, carried juridic significance as a tie of blood relations sufficiently strong to create enduring legal obligations. See Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia: 1953), 393.

46 Ibid., 6–9.

47 Ibid.

48 Charles J. Reid, Jr., *Power Over the Body, Equality in the Family: Rights and Domestic Relations in Medieval Canon Law* (Grand Rapids, MI: 2004), 104.

49 John T. Noonan, Jr., *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment By the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, MA: 1986), 134–36; Alan Soble, "A History of Erotic Philosophy," *Journal of Sex Research* 46 (2009), 107–09. See also more generally, Timo Nisula, *Augustine and the Functions of Concupiscence* (Leiden: 2012) (exploring the many applications Augustine assigned to this term).

50 Walsh (ed.) *De bono coniugali*, 6–9.

51 Ibid., 10–11.

52 See John C. Bauershmidt, "Contraception," in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, (eds.) Allan Fitzgerald and John C. Cavadini (Grand Rapids, MI: 1999), 238–39 (analyzing the *De bono coniugali* and other Augustinian texts bearing on the question of contraception within and outside of marriage).

remote, of procreation), then the act became intrinsically wrong.[53] Sexual pleasure for its own sake, as an end in itself, divorced from all possibility of procreation, was strictly forbidden.[54]

This ethic took root in the Christian tradition and was transmitted forward through the mediation of generations of priests and monks making use of the sacrament of confession. In essence, what we find is a three-sided relationship among different sacraments: confession, matrimony, and Holy Orders. And so we find priests in Holy Orders using their power to remit sins to define and regulate sexual conduct within marriage. It is this story that must be told next. For in the early Middle Ages, the ancient observance of penance was taking on new forms in the newly-converted distant corners of Europe. And since it becomes crucial to understanding how the ethical content of the marital relationship came to be enforced, we must first discuss how the sacrament of penance took on a new and particular form in early medieval Ireland.[55]

Ireland in the 5th century, when the first Christian missionaries arrived, was a land governed by small, decentralized, clan-based kingdoms. The religion was a polytheistic animism that paid reverence to one's ancestors and to the things of nature–animals like dogs and stags,[56] trees, thunder, lightning, running water.[57] It was a religion of loose and fluid practices, presided over by druids thought to possess a monopoly of mystical, magical powers.[58] A secular legal system–the *brehon* law–pre-dated the arrival of the first Christians.[59]

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53 Jean Louis Flandrin, *Sex in the Western World: The Development of Attitudes and Behavior* (Chur, Switzerland: 1991), 107.

54 Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 80.

55 See Bernard Poschman, *Penance and Anointing of the Sick*, trans. Francis Courtney (New York: 1964), 19–35; and Joseph A. Favazza, *The Order of Penitents: Historical Roots and Pastoral Features* (Collegeville, MN: 1988), 147–163. The three grave sins that were universally agreed to warrant public punishment were "murder, adultery, and apostasy," although other sins might also trigger the penitential process, depending on the norms of the community. See Claudia Rapp, "Spiritual Guarantors at Penance, Baptism, and Ordination in the Late Antique East," in *A New History of Penance*, (ed.) Abigail Firey (Leiden: 2008), 122. On the trans-Mediterranean spread of this practice, see Ladislas Örsy, *The Evolving Church and the Sacrament of Penance* (Denville, NJ: 1978), 31–34.

56 Miranda J. Green, *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth* (London: 1992), 196–200.

57 Daniel Webster Hollis, *The History of Ireland* (Westport, CT: 2001), 18.

58 See generally Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids In Britain* (New Haven, CT: 2009). Druids were part of a "scholarly" class which also included interpreters of the law and which jointly occupied a leading role in Irish society comparable in some respects to kings. See Michael Richter, *Medieval Ireland: The Enduring Tradition* (New York: 1983), 20–22.

59 In an act of monumental labor, the Irish statesman and polymath D.A. Binchy produced a six-volume edition of the law, collected as the *Corpus iuris Hibernici: ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum*, 6 volumes (Dublin: 1978).

Women under this body of Irish law were considered dependent beings. There were three types of marriage in early medieval Ireland. The most formal–and the most respectable–involved a transaction between families by which dowry and wife would exchange hands. Irish law permitted as well less formal marriage and marriage by abduction or rape.[60]

Christianity, when it arrived, supplanted many of these cultic practices but also built upon them.[61] Celtic Christianity, for much of the early Middle Ages, possessed its own highly distinctive attributes. Christianity on the Continent tended to be organized around a diocesan structure presided over by a bishop who held in his hands chief legislative and judicial powers. In Ireland, however, Christianity tended to be centered on the great monasteries that dotted the landscape. Bishops were weak; monastic abbots were the forces with whom to be reckoned.[62]

The asceticism practiced in the monasteries tended to be extreme. Whereas Continental monasticism was dominated by observance of the Benedictine Rule, with its highly-regulated but moderate ascetical practices, Irish monastic self-denial was legendary. The *Rule of Columbanus*, one of the most widely disseminated of the early Irish rules, demanded continuous physical labor, imposed corporal punishment for even minor violations, insisted on late-night and early-morning acts of worship, and aimed in all of its provisions to subdue a flesh thought to be wicked and rebellious.[63]

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60 Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Women and the Law in Early Ireland," in *Chattel, Servant, or Citizen: Women's Status in Church, State, and Society*, (eds.) Mary O'Dowd and Sabine Wichert (Belfast: 1995), 46–50.

61 Celtic hagiography is notorious for its depictions of Irish saints as little more than baptized druids cursing their enemies and even performing magical abortions on hapless Christian girls who managed to get themselves pregnant. See, for instance, D.A. Binchy, "A Pre-Christian Survival in Mediaeval Irish Hagiography," in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, (eds.) Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick, and David Dumville (London: 1982), 165–178; and Maeve B. Callan, "Of Vanishing Fetuses and Maidens Made-Again: Abortion, Restored Virginity, and Similar Scenarios in Medieval Irish Hagiography," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21 (2012): 282–296.

62 An earlier school of thought understood bishops to be strictly subordinated to abbots. More recent scholarship suggests that this schema might be overdone, but it remains the case that bishops were relatively weak vis-à-vis monastic abbots. See T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: 2000), 241–81.

63 Continuous sleep deprivation was a prominent feature of the *Rule of Columbanus*. See Mary W. Helms, "Before the Dawn: Monks and the Night in Late-Antiquity and Early Medieval Europe," *Anthropos* 99 (2004), 182. Cf. Jane Barbara Stevenson, "The Monastic Rules of Columbanus," in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, (ed.) Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge, UK: 1997), 203–16 (historically contextualizing the Rule). This Rule was produced for the monastic communities Columbanus founded on the European Continent. See Catherine Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism: An Understanding of Its Cultural Roots* (London: 2006), 109–17.

The Irish penitentials, books of guidance to be consulted by confessors in determining the appropriate punishment for sins, are of a piece with the basic premise that undergirded the monastic rules–the flesh was weak, it was prone to sin, it was at constant war with the higher calling of the spirit. Frequent penance in this context made sense since at any moment we were likely to be dragged down to Hell for a lapse in judgement or vigilance. And our natural defenses were at their weakest, our ever-wakeful steadfastness most required in the area of sexuality. To safeguard against the very loss of our immortal souls, the authors of the penitentials sought to enforce a strict Augustinian discipline in the area of marital and sexual ethics.[64]

The *Penitential of Finnian* is probably the oldest of the penitentials, dating to the early or middle 6th century.[65] Typical of the genre, the author articulated two basic premises to his work. First, there is a basic pessimism about human sinfulness. He assumed that living a Christian life is a daily struggle and that individual men and women will continually fall short. Second, he sees his work as remedial: he means to propose a variety of remedies (*remediis*) which he hopes will prove curative (*curandorum*).[66]

And nowhere, it seems, are human beings greater recidivists than in the area of sexual offenses. And these sins can occur both within and outside of marriage. Marriage, the author of the penitential declared, must be governed by the law of "continence" (*continentiam*).[67] And this meant that every sex act by married persons must be done in fulfillment of the intent to procreate children. Lustful intentions (acts done *ad libidinem*) must be entirely banished from marital life.[68] The author looked to the Bible for guidance: The Old and New Testament alike teach that male and female are two made one flesh by marriage.[69] The author jumped to the further conclusion that these texts meant that marital unity must exist solely in furtherance of procreation.[70] This, in a nutshell, was what was meant by marital continence; and, the author

64 For a discussion of some of these themes, in the context of an effort to place the sexual ethic of the penitentials within an early medieval society learning to be Christian, see Lisa Bitel, "Sex, Sin, and Celibacy in Early Medieval Ireland," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 7 (1987): 65–95.

65 John Thomas MacNeill and Helen Margaret Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation* (New York: 1938), 86.

66 Ludwig Bieler (ed.) *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin: 1975), 93–95. Cf. Thomas O'Laughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World, and God in Early Irish Writings* (New York: 2000), 59–60 (further developing these points).

67 Bieler, ed., *The Irish Penitentials*, 90.

68 Ibid., 92.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

asserted, any deviation from these strict standards amounted to non-marital sex and was pure and unadulterated sin.[71]

A variety of more specific instructions flowed from this fundamental principle. A husband who had a barren wife (*uxorem sterilem*) was obliged to remain entirely continent, having sexual relations with no one. The wife was under the same constraint.[72] After all, sexual relations must be procreative and where that has been shown to be impossible, sexual relations must cease. And since marriage was the sole outlet for sexual relations, married persons who separate must also remain entirely continent until one of the partners should pass away.[73] The penitential stated even more specific requirements: again, since sexual relations may only occur within marriage, a man who had sexual relations with his slave girl, had to sell the girl unless he conceived a child by her, in which case he was to emancipate mother and child (or children).[74]

The *Penitential of Columbanus* may or may not have been written by the famous abbot.[75] But it certainly carried forward some major themes found in *Finnian*. It sadly acknowledged in its opening paragraph the fallen, sinful condition of the human race.[76] And its treatment of non-procreative intercourse was especially harsh. Consider its handling of the question of homosexual relations: the penitent must observe ten years' satisfaction, the first three years on bread and wine, the last seven abstaining from meat and water;[77] the penitent must also be perpetually separated from the man with whom he sinned.[78] The severity of the penalty is put in stark relief when one considers that the punishment for begetting a child by another man's wife was three years' penance, the same punishment as killing by magic.[79] But if the premise of the penitential literature is to de-legitimize all forms of non-procreative intercourse and any sort of sexual pleasure-seeking, then nothing could be more oriented to pure "pleasure" and be less "procreative" than same-sex relations.

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71 Ibid., 90.

72 Ibid., 88–89.

73 Ibid., 90–91.

74 Ibid., 88–89.

75 The text dates to the late sixth or early 7th century. The attribution to Columbanus was made by contemporaries. The text survives only in continental manuscripts at Bobbio. See Yitzak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul* (Leiden: 1995), 181–82 (and sources cited therein).

76 Bieler (ed.) *The Irish Penitentials*, 96–97. ("Sed quia hanc multorum fragilitas, ut non dicam omnium"). Ibid., 96.

77 Ibid., 100–01.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

The penitential of *Cummean*, dating to the middle or late 7th century,[80] offered a far more comprehensive catalogue of non-procreative sins and the penalties attached to their commission. Those who perform homosexual acts must endure a penance of seven years. Those who "befoul their lips" (*moechantes in labiis*) must perform a penance of four years; but if they are habitual offenders, the penance is seven years. Those who engage in femoral intercourse suffer a penance of two years.[81] In addition to this listing, *Cummean* contained a separate appendix detailing the penances to be imposed on boys who engage in homosexual acts. Boys who kiss or embrace are to fast between six and ten times; but if they are more than twenty years old, they should be separated perpetually. Boys who masturbate and then take communion must fast between twenty and forty days. A man who masturbates must fast between 100 days and a year depending on the frequency of his wrong-doing.[82]

Reviewing these texts, one leading historian has concluded that for the authors and audience of the Irish Penitentials, "homosexual relations ranked among the worst of the sexual sins."[83] Undoubtedly, one reason for this severity of treatment is that homosexual acts (and auto-erotic acts such as masturbation) represent sins of sexual pleasure entirely removed from the possibility (or risk) of procreation. If your premise is that the only legitimate use of the sexual organs is to procreate, nothing is more totally removed from this goal than this array of acts. Hence, the harshness.

But this is not to say that other marital issues and sexual offenses were neglected. The *Canons of Theodore* insisted that wives must abstain from sexual relations with their spouses from the time they conceive a child to forty days *post partum*.[84] *Bede* declared that anyone who committed *stuprum* with a widow was to fast for a year and a day (one of those exquisitely vague Latin nouns, *stuprum* could embrace a wide variety of non-procreative sexual offenses).[85] The *Penitential of Pseudo-Bede* punished women who took magical potions with the intent of rendering themselves infertile,[86] a provision that

80 MacNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks*, 98–99.

81 Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, 114–15.

82 Ibid., 126–29.

83 Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, MA: 2006), 156.

84 Theodore, *Poenitentiale*, 2. XII, sec. 3, in *Die Bussordnungen der abendländishen Kirche*, ed. F.W.H. Wasserschleben (Graz: 1958), 213.

85 *Poenitentiale Badae*, C. III. sec. 5; Wasserschleben (ed.) *Die Bussordnungen der*, 221.

86 *Pseudo-Beda*, c. 30, sec. 3, in *Die Bussbücher und das Kanonische Bussverfahren*, vol. II of *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, (ed.) Herman Joseph Schmitz (Dusseldorf: 1898), 272.

was repeated in the continental *Poenitentiale Capitula Iudiciorum*.[87] The *Penitential of Egbert* earnestly and painstakingly differentiated among many and various types and grades of masturbatory conduct and associated degrees of culpability.[88] Again, all of these texts aimed to preserve, in multi-faceted ways, the tight connection between sexual relations and procreation.

Penitentials, recent scholarship has shown, were put to multiple uses. They might be used as legal texts,[89] serving as the basis for inquiries into criminal misconduct in a given vicinage or village; they might be used in a classroom setting, as a set of moral instructions that might be imparted to younger priests; and, finally, they might be used by confessors hearing the sins of those souls entrusted to their care,[90] although, as Alexander Murray has observed, regular, predictable penitential observance was always a haphazard thing in these days.[91]

Still, as a guide to confessors, these early medieval texts laid the basis for the sexual ethic that would be handed down from generation to generation throughout the length of the Middle Ages. The early 13th century, the period just before and after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, witnessed a revival of interest in penance and penitential practice. That council, after all, decreed that Catholics had to go to confession at least once a year. Priests required guidance on how to conduct confession – how intrusively should they inquire into the sinful deeds of their flock? What counted as sins? How severely or mildly should the offenders be sanctioned?[92] And a new generation of penitential theologians stood ready at hand to resolve these questions.[93]

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87 *Das Poenitentiale Capitula Iudiciorum*, C. XVI, in *Die Bussbücher und das Kanonische Bussverfahren*, vol. II of *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, (ed.) Herman Joseph Schmitz (Dusseldorf: 1898), 236.

88 *Poenitentiale Egberti*, C. IX, secs. 1–11; Wasserschleben (ed.) *Die Bussordnungen der*, 240–41.

89 On the adaptation of the penitential texts to legal purposes, see Franz Kerff, "*Libri Paenitentiales* und kirchliche Strafgerichtsbarket bis zum *Decretum Gratiani*: Ein Diskussionsvorschlag," *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 75 (1989): 23–57; A.H. Gaastra, "Penance and the Law: The Penitential Canons of the *Collection in Nine Books*," *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 85–102; Cf. Rob Meens, "Penitentials and the Practice of Penance in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Early Medieval History* 14 (2006): 7–21 (demonstrating that most surviving penitential manuscripts from this period were directed at judicial, not pastoral use).

90 See Rob Meens, "The Frequency and Nature of Medieval Penance," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Peter Billis and A.J. Minnis (York, UK: 1998), 45.

91 Alexander Murray, "Confession Before 1215," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1993): 51–81.

92 Fritz Kemmler, *'Exempla' in Context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne'* (Tübingen: 1984), 34–35.

93 Leonard Boyle, "*Summae Confessorum*," *Les Genres littéraires dan les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: définition, critique, et exploitation* (Louvain: 1982), 227–28.

The thought of this new generation was considerably more sophisticated than their Irish predecessors. A whole psychology of sinfulness was part and parcel of their work. But the old categories were still utilized. Consider Thomas of Chobham who worked around the time of the Fourth Lateran Council. Regarding masturbation, he conceded that there were forms of nocturnal emission that were blameless–semen might be ejaculated while the penitent was in a deep sleep, or insane, or suffering from some medical condition beyond his control. And these offenses were to be treated leniently if not altogether exonerated. But, where the offender was consciously culpable, proportional punishment followed.[94]

As a matter of marital and sexual ethics, however, these writers carried forward into the high and later Middle Ages the old Augustinian ethic so zealously expounded and defended by the Irish monks.[95] Thus when Robert of Flamborough outlined for priests a set of model questions they should use to inquire into their parishioners' sexual offenses, he focused on non-procreative forms of intercourse, from homosexual acts, to having sex with a pregnant wife, to behaving effeminately.[96] So also Robert Grosseteste, writing around the middle of the 13th century, understood *luxuria* to be coterminous with sins against "continence" and fit all sorts of offenses within its capacious contours–from masturbation to treating one's wife like a "prostitute," i.e., having sexual relations with her in ways that frustrated procreation.[97]

These texts, furthermore, are not simply matters of antiquarian curiosity. They have a living legacy that continues down to our own age. Thus John Noonan demonstrated in the 1960s that the contraceptive teachings of the penitentials proved of particular value to later medieval law collections and that this ethos, in turn, influenced the shape of Catholic thinking on matters like birth control into the modern period.[98]

And so we find the tripartite relationship of the priesthood, confession, and marriage shaping and molding each other. The end result was the development

94 Thomas of Chobham, *Summa Confessorum*, (ed.) F. Broomfield (Louvain: 1968), 330–34.

95 Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550–1150* (Toronto: 1984), 5.

96 Robert of Flamborough, *Liber Poenitentialis: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, (ed.) J.J. Francis Firth (Toronto: 1971), 195–97.

97 Siegfried Wenzel (ed.) "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise On Confession, *Deus Est*," *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970), 281–84. Cf. J. Goering and F.A.C. Mantello, "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987): 52–112 (considering dating and compositional questions in Grosseteste's penitential writings).

98 Noonan, *Contraception*, 168–70.

of a sexual ethic that remains a bedrock principle of the Church's teaching on marriage, as witnessed, for instance, in Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae*.

8.4 On Freedom and the Proper Ministers of the Sacrament

The canonist Gratian worked a transformation of marriage law in the 12th century when he established that the consent of the parties made marriage. In arriving at this conclusion, he excluded traditional roles for parents, especially the father of the bride, and for priests. It seemed that even though the priesthood might define the ethical content of marriage indirectly, through the sacrament of penance, priests would henceforth play no legally necessary role in the formation of marriage.

To understand how profound a transmutation Gratian worked, one does well to consider the place of the father in Roman law, for Gratian in a significant sense was reacting against the total control the Roman *paterfamilias* enjoyed within his household. The mid-2nd-century jurist Gaius thus boasted of the near total legal authority invested in the father by Roman law: "The right [of paternal power] properly belongs to Roman citizens. For scarcely any other nation has such authority over its children as we do."[99] In the law of pagan Rome this even included the power of life and death over offspring.[100] Although by the 2nd century, Emperors condemned the exercise of this power over children above a certain age as thuggish and criminal,[101] it remained possible into the 4th century for parents to expose infants, leaving them to the elements, to be taken in by others or to die, as chance would have it.[102]

The glue that held the generations fast in the Roman household was *pietas*.[103]

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99 Francis de Zulueta (ed.) *The Institutes of Gaius,* vol. I, bk. I, sec. 55 (Oxford: 1946), 16.

100 The power of paternal life and death over offspring is very old and speculated by some to have been part of the Law of the Twelve Tables, Rome's first law code. See Bruce W. Frier and Thomas A.J. McGinn, *A Casebook on Roman Law* (Oxford: 2004), 191.

101 Thus Hadrian condemned a father's decision to kill his son after discovering the son had slept with his step-mother, the father's new wife. *Digest* 48.9.5 (Marcianus). The *Lex Iulia de Adulteriis* permitted fathers to execute daughters in their power who became involved in extra-marital affairs, although the jurists greatly restricted the scope of this provision. See Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington, IN: 1986), 5.

102 Constantine attempted to outlaw the paternal "right of life and death" (*ius vitae necisque*), but exposure of infants was only finally abolished in 374. See Gardner, *Women in Roman Law*, 5.

103 Cynthia J. Bannon, *The Brothers of Romulus: Fraternal Pietas in Roman Law, Literature, and Society* (Princeton, NJ: 1997), 63.

Pietas is devotion–to the gods, to the nation, to the family, by which was meant not just the present generation but the dead and those as yet unborn.[104] It is the virtue of respect toward paternal hierarchy and, carried with it, the obligation of dutiful obedience to the word and example of one's elders.[105] It was the boyish excitement that gripped you when as a young *adolescens* you stood proud at your father's side as much as the comforting satisfaction that surrounded you at the end of your days, reminding you that you have surmounted the tests and remained true and loyal to the accumulated greatness of your ancestors.[106]

Pietas, therefore, must serve as the lens through which we consider some provisions of Justinian's *Digest* as they pertain to marital consent. Marriage, at Roman law, was an institution whose entry required free consent.[107] But the possibility of familial compulsion was always present. After all, parents could betroth their children in marriage after they reached the age of seven.[108] And the *Digest* greatly limited the possibility of a son or daughter complaining afterwards that he or she was forced into marriage by their parents. While a son had the legal capacity to object beforehand to the betrothal his parents arranged for him,[109] once he entered the marriage he lost the right to object to the union on the grounds of compulsion.[110] A daughter, on the other hand, could object to her father's plans only where the prospective spouse was "unworthy in his morals or foul" ("*indignum moribus vel turpem sponsum*").[111] Early Christian households were not very differently structured. Indeed, Carolyn Osiek finds hints of secular "household codes" current in Greek circles in the letters to the Ephesians and Colossians.[112] For example, 1 Peter 2:18–3:7 reflects the kind of hierarchical familial expectations found throughout the Mediterranean.[113]

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104 Christopher Francese, *Ancient Rome in So Many Words* (New York: 2007), 223.

105 Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property, and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: 1994), 105.

106 Beryl Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (Oxford: 2003), 223–25.

107 See, for example, *Digest* 23.1.11 (Julianus) ("sponsalia sicut nuptiae consensu contrahentium fiunt"); and 23.2.2 (Paulus) ("nuptiae consistere non possunt nisi consentiant omnes, id est qui coeunt quorumque in potestate sunt").

108 *Digest* 23.1.14 (Modestinus).

109 *Digest* 22.1.11 (Julianus).

110 *Digest* 23.2.22 (Celsus). This is the text known as Si patre cogente.

111 *Digest* 23.1.12 (Ulpian).

112 Carolyn Osiek, "What We Do and Don't Know About Early Christian Families," in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, (ed.) Beryl Rawson (Chichester, UK: 2011), 204.

113 Ibid.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the early Christian writers had little patience with spouses who objected that their parents forced them into undesirable marriages. In his *Letter to Amandus* Jerome, the contemporary of Augustine and translator of the Hebrew Bible, responded to an inquiry as to whether it was possible for a woman to leave her husband when it was clear that she had been compelled unwillingly into the union by her father and subsequently learned that her husband was openly homosexual: "I care nothing for what you say about the violence of an abductor, the offering by a mother, the authority of a father, the whole troop of relatives, the tricks of slaves, the loss of property."[114] That paternal pressure was brought to bear, that the husband was clearly unsuitable, that the whole sham arrangement might have been the result of a paternal desire to please and placate external political forces meant nothing to Jerome.

The expectation that fathers should arrange the marriages of their offspring survived the fall of Roman political authority in the West and remained a vital part of the canon law of the early Middle Ages. Merovingian-age church councils certainly elevated the role of parents in marital decision-making. Thus the Fourth Council of Orléans (541) decreed that none should "dare" (*audeat*) to marry a daughter against her father's will since this would be "impious" (note the linguistic tie with *pietas*).[115] So also the Third Council of Paris (556–573) pronounced excommunication and anathema on anyone who sought the hand of a daughter or widow without first seeking parental approval (*extra voluntatem parentum*).[116]

Priests were also assigned a crucial role in the process of marital formation. The *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, attributed to a pseudo-Fourth Council of Carthage, circulated widely in early medieval Europe. Canon 101 of this collection taught that marriage was brought into being by the handing over of the couple by their parents and the conferral of a priestly blessing.[117] The 5th-century bishop Caesarius of Arles, furthermore, is said by his hagiographer to have established a rule (*regulariter*) mandating that couples come to the basilica and receive a priestly blessing three days prior to marriage.[118]

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114 Jerome, *Letter 55* to Amandus, in PL 22, 562–63. Cf. John T. Noonan, Jr., "Power to Choose," *Viator* 4 (1973), 422–23. I am here following Noonan's translation of Jerome.

115 c. 22, Fourth Council of Orléans, in *Concilia Galliae 511–695,* CCSL 148A, (ed.) Charles de Clercq (Turnhout: 163), 137–38.

116 Third Council of Paris (556–573), in De Clercq, *Concilia Galliae*, 208.

117 c. 101, *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, in *Concilia Galliae, 314–506,* CCSL 148, (ed.) Charles Munier (Turnhout: 1963), 184–85.

118 G. Morin (ed.) *Vie de Césare d'Arles* (Paris: 2010), 230.

The tendency toward requiring a priestly blessing at marriage accelerated in the 9th century with the appearance of the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*. While these documents were intended as clever fabrications–placing in the mouths of ancient and eminent church authorities the teachings of the day–they retain value because they represent principles and ideals many 9th-century churchmen wished to insert into the law. This was certainly the case with the priestly blessing imparted to marriage. A series of documents supposedly edited by the fictitious Benedict the Levite insisted for validity's sake that Christians had to have their marriages blessed.[119] In another part of the False Decretals, one finds the spurious letter of Pope Evaristus. Pseudo-Evaristus taught that legitimate marriage must include a priestly nuptial blessing.[120]

Sacramentaries provide additional evidence for the priest's indispensable role in early medieval matrimonial formation.[121] The celebrant in the Gellone Sacramentary (790–804) summoned God to be present to witness the joining of the couple and to assist them in attaining abundant fruitfulness.[122] In the first years of the 10th century, priests employed the Sacramentary of Echternach to beseech God's great peace and providence on the couple kneeling before them in anticipation of marriage. Wives, especially, were reminded to follow in the obedient footsteps of Rebecca, Rachel, and Sarah.[123] Thus were priests employed not only to bless the marriage but to teach the lessons of marital hierarchy. The mid-11th-century English Sacramentary of Robert de Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury, repeated and elaborated upon some of these ancient themes in his Mass for the Blessing of the Spouses.[124]

If this was the law of the Church, then the principles of secular law as found in the Germanic law books of the early Middle Ages at least partly reflected these ecclesiastical teachings, especially where it came to the dominant role of

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119 Karl Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II: Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World*, trans. Tanis M. Guest (Ithaca, NY: 2010), 30–31; Rudolf Ritter von Scherer, *Über das Eherecht bei Benedict Levita und Pseudo-Isidor* (Graz: 1879).

120 *Decreta Evaristi Papae* (*Pseudo-Evaristus*), in *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, (ed.) Paulus Hinschius (Aalen: 1963), 87 (= PL 130:81).

121 The Gallic councils, Caesarius of Arles, and the evidence of the sacramentaries are all examined in Hen, *Merovingian Gaul*, 122–37.

122 A. Dumas (ed.) *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis,* Corpus Christianorum 159 (Turnhout: 1981), 411–14. Cf. Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: 2001), 78–84 (on the dating and theological significance of the *Gellone* Sacramentary).

123 Yitzhak Hen (ed.) *The Sacramentary of Echternach* (*Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9433*) (London: 1997), 394–96.

124 H.A. Wilson (ed.) *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (Woodbridge, UK: 1994), 269–70.

familial authority in marital formation. Before considering these texts, however, one must be conscious of a large pitfall along the way. German scholarship of a pre-World War II vintage approached the whole question of early medieval marriage, as it did so much else, with a desire to identify elements that might be understood to signify a single, distinctively Germanic understanding of the law. The highly formal interpretation of the sources they advanced was premised on the belief that all marriage in the Middle Ages necessarily, logically consisted of a transfer of power from the woman's father or male guardian to the husband–whether through purchase, through abduction, or through some form of freely-negotiated, freely-exchanged consent.

Contemporary scholars, however, appreciate the somewhat artificial character of this kind of system-building and now understand that these law codes must be understood on their terms. The modern approach is more finely-grained, taking account of widely varying, scattered, and heterogeneous experiences. These codes cannot be united into a single mystical expression of some hovering spirit of the German *Volk*.[125]

With these admonitions in mind, we can distinguish between two types of marital formation–*Kaufehe* (bride purchase) and *Raubehe* (marriage by abduction).[126] We might commence with *Raubehe*. The law describes these latter marriages as straightforward kidnappings–a ravishing male invades another man's home and steals away his daughter. His superior strength and brute force allow him to prevail against the young woman and her family alike.[127]

Scholars now recognize, however, that at least a subset of these so-called abductions were not forcible seizures at all, but men and women eloping to escape oppressive parental situations.[128] Penalties, sometimes quite harsh, were imposed accordingly, not because of any violence that might have been involved

125 See especially Lyndon Reynolds' powerful assessment of this older school of historiography. Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage During the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: 2001), 71–72.

126 German scholars of the early and middle 20th century also spoke of a third category of marriage formation–*Friedelehe* (marriage by "free consent"). Contemporary legal historians, however, reject this category as purely hypothetical and unsupported by the sources. See Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: 2012), 20–22.

127 Rudolf Hübner, *A History of Germanic Private Law* (Boston: 1918), 593–94; Cf. Jenny Jochens, "The Illicit Love Visit: An Archeology of Old Norse Sexuality," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (1991), 366–67.

128 Thus Lisa Bitel writes: "If a man kidnapped his bride, or the two arranged to elope, this was *Raubehe*." Lisa M. Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe, 400–1100* (Cambridge: 2002), 180.

but because of the violation of paternal property rights.[129] Men caught in such circumstances were frequently expected to pay substantial financial settlements to the father or the male guardian of the woman so "seized."[130] On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that many instances of abduction were just that–simple crimes of violence perpetrated against a woman and her family.

If the Germanic law codes prove an even semi-accurate guide to social reality, then two conclusions are possible when we consider the state of scholarship on *Raubehe*. First: it was sometimes possible to frustrate parental wishes, although young people who attempted to do so invariably put themselves at substantial legal risk. And, secondly, parental will, especially paternal will, was a transcendent value conserved and promoted in the Germanic provisions on marriage formation.

More routinely, marriage was formed through a process of parental negotiation, in which the families sought to arrive at a fair price for the exchange. The Lombard Law, for instance, assumed the general existence of *mundium*–a kind of guardianship that men exercised over women, which could be transferred by marriage to a husband or even to third parties as, say, when the custodial male has died or ceased being able to exert control.[131] The *Lex Alamannarum* established a fixed sum–40 *solidi*–which might be offered to a father in return for a bride.[132] Who might negotiate with the parents of a bride? The parents of the groom, of course, but also prospective suitors. Thus not only men but boys under the age of eighteen were free to bargain with a girl's parents and arrange the details of a marriage contract.[133]

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129 The laws of the Merovingian King Childebert II decreed death for both parties if the woman consented to her own abduction, but this rule seems to have been an outlier. See Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: 2012), 249.

130 Rebecca Colman notes that such marriages were often more likely to have been "elopement" against parental wishes than outright abduction, and that the law codes acknowledged this practice as a lamentable social reality and were united in their disapproval. The fines imposed on offenders were thus sometimes quite substantial. See Rebecca V. Colman, " 'Under Her Own Lock and Key:' Women's Position in Early Medieval Law and Society," in *The Life of the Law: Proceedings of the Tenth British Legal History Conference*, (ed.) Peter Birks (London: 1993), 48–53 (summarizing principally early Anglo-Saxon law). See also, Suzanne F. Wemple, "Consent and Dissent to Sexual Intercourse in Germanic Societies From the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries," in *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval* Societies, (ed.) Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC: 1993), 229–34 (summarizing Germanic penalties).

131 See *Rothair's Edict*, cc. 182–83, in Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia: 1973), 85–86; and the *Laws of Liutprand*, c. 12, ibid., 148–49.

132 Karl Lehmann (ed.) *Leges Alamannorum*, c. 53, in MGH Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi (Hanover: 1888), 111.

133 *The Laws of Liutprand*, c. 117, in Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, 195.

Women, however, were absolutely forbidden to take any active part in the process of marital formation. The Lombard Law declared that where a woman presumed to take a husband without first obtaining familial permission, a substantial compensation must be paid lest blood feud be aroused.[134] The Visigothic Law categorically forbade women from freely arranging their marriages and imposed confiscatory fines on all those who dared to act otherwise.[135]

Even married women were viewed as objects of commercial control. Thus one finds on the subject of adultery the law assigning a monetary value to wives and establishing a tariff schedule, men might use to negotiate peaceful settlements to what must have otherwise been highly explosive situations.[136]

This was a world, in other words, in which men ruled. Women were subordinate to their husbands, it went without saying, but offspring, especially daughters, were subject to paternal control in the matter of marriage formation. Young men and women, freely choosing their spouses, was a concept that did not fit the frame of this mental universe. Bishops gathered solemnly in councils gave ecclesiastical recognition to this social reality. Devout forgers supplemented in their own way episcopal teaching. Priests, finally, sanctified the fruit of these arrangements in the nuptial blessings they imparted on the young people brought before them.

The 9th-century divorce case of King Lothar II and Queen Theutberga really represents the final synthesis of this early medieval world view. Lothar was the great-grandson of Charlemagne and had succeeded to the throne of the desperately unstable entity known as Lotharingia in the year 855. Wedged between France and Germany, associated now with the Low Countries and the French province of Lorraine, Lotharingia would cease to function as an independent sovereignty by the early 10th century.[137] In the same year he assumed the royal power, Lothar took a bride, Theutberga,[138] daughter of Count Boso and the

134 *Rothair's Edict*, c. 188, in Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, 87. Fornication, even voluntary fornication, could cause the relatives to take licit vengeance on the intruding male. *Rothair's Edict*, c. 89, Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, 87.

135 Charles Zeumer (ed.) *Leges Visigothorum*, in MGH Legum Sectio I, Legum Nationum Germanicarum, vol. I (Hanover: 1902), 122–23 (= *Decree of Flavius Recesvintus*, c. *III*, in S.P. Scott, *The Visigothic Code* (*Forum Judicum*) (Boston: 1910), 76).

136 Karl Lehmann (ed.) *Leges Alamannorum,* in MGH, Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi (Hanover: 1888), c. 50, 109.

137 "Lotharingia … was not a tribal territory but simply an accumulation of lordships." Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1200* (Cambridge: 1986), 41 (describing the essential reason for Lotharingia's political instability); Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making: 843–1180* (Oxford: 2000), 1–16 (describing the creation and fragmentation of Lotharingia).

138 Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, 60–61.

scion of a dynasty that would play a leading role in the post-Carolingian world.[139]

The marriage, however, swiftly soured. Lothar returned to the warm companionship of his mistress Waldrada and, within two years, presented the legal arguments he thought were needed to divorce Theutberga.[140] The claims he made and the campaign he waged against his own queen were nothing less than slanderous. She committed repeated and unnatural acts of incest with her brother, an abbot, Lothar alleged. They tried anal intercourse for the sheer pleasure of it, but also managed to procreate a child, probably by means of witchcraft–whom Theutberga subsequently aborted.[141] The allegations were so lurid and unfounded that contemporary historians have concluded that these charges must have been fabrications.[142]

Theutberga was at first timid and uncertain in her response. She submitted, vicariously, through a surrogate, to a trial by ordeal, which she passed.[143] Lothar's case quickly unraveled, but he was undeterred and almost at once renewed his efforts. This time, after exerting heavy pressure, he got a badly unnerved Theutberga to make a vague acknowledgement of the charges before a church council at Aachen in 860 and express a desire to enter a convent.[144]

Now, however, a champion had come to Theutberga's defense–Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, probably the most learned churchman of the day.[145] He came to condemn Lothar for adultery and for his abuse of Theutberga. He sought as well to involve the reigning Pope Nicholas I so as to ensure universal respect for whatever judgement finally issued. But what interests us are the criteria Hincmar established for a valid marriage. And there he followed closely the sources we have reviewed. For "legitimate" marriage, he asserted, following Pseudo-Evaristus and some other sources, that marriage requires both the consent of the bride's parents and the priestly blessing. Where both elements coincided, an unbreakable union came into being, which cannot be sundered by

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid., 85–86.

141 Valerie Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, NY: 2009), 165.

142 See, for instance, Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*, 85–86 ("trumped-up charges"). Heidecker finds the allegations so extreme that he speculates that the more outrageous charges might have been made by Lothar's enemies to discredit the petition for divorce. Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, 68.

143 Ibid., 66–67.

144 Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle For Empire: Kingship and Conflict Under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, NY: 2006), 292.

145 Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, 92–96.

divorce.[146] Pope Nicholas, in responding to this case, endorsed much of what Hincmar had to say.[147]

This then was the state of play Gratian encountered in the early and middle 12th century. The weight of tradition, it seemed, hung heavily, very nearly decisively, in one direction: parental consent and priestly blessing were both required to make a valid marriage. Yet Gratian altered the landscape dramatically.[148] Even so, we can identify certain clear jurisprudential commitments.[149] Where marriage was concerned, this was a preoccupation with human freedom and responsibility.[150]

8.5 Gratian's Decretum

This default commitment to personal liberty was on vivid display when Gratian turned to the question of marital formation in *Causa* 31, *quaestio* 2. Gratian opened this section of the *Decretum* with a laconic statement of principle that ran counter to the entire weight of tradition: no one is to be compelled unwillingly into marriage. As support he cited "Ambrose," although his source was not really the learned archbishop, but "Isaac," the first Latin commentator on Paul.[151] His remaining sources for this proposition were two recent letters of

146 Hincmar of Rheims, *De Divortio Lotharii Regis et Theutbergae Reginae*, in MGH Concilia, vol. IV, Supplementum I, (ed.) Letha Böhringer, (Hannover: 1992), 133–34. Cf. *Decreta Evaristi Papae* (*Pseudo-Evaristus*), in *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (ed.) Paulus Hinschius (Aalen: 1963), 87.

147 Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, 162–65. Nicholas stressed the significance of a priestly blessing both in his response to Theutberga's case and in a nearly contemporaneous letter to Prince Boris of the Bulgars, although he suggested that in the case of extreme poverty or other such necessity, it was not absolutely required.

148 In speaking of Gratian, it is common now to understand that he was really a composite figure, standing for a collaboration between at least two learned lawyers lasting over a period of a couple of decades. This is the thesis of Anders Winroth. See Anders Winroth, *The Making Of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge: 2000).

149 Such as Gratian's commitment to the primacy of natural law and Scripture as opposed to positive law. See Jean Porter, *Ministers of the Law: A Natural-Law Theory of Legal Authority* (Grand Rapids, MI: 2010), 70–77.

150 Raymond G. Decker, "Institutional Authority Versus Personal Responsibility in the Marriage Sections of Gratian's *A Concordance of Discordant Canons*," *The Jurist* 32 (1972): 51–65.

151 John T. Noonan, "Power To Choose," *Viator* 4 (1973), 419, n. 1. On Isaac, see also Alexander Souter, *The Earliest Commentaries on the Epistles of Saint Paul: A Study* (Oxford: 1927), 44–49.

Pope Urban II and, remarkably, a portion of Pope Nicholas' response to the contested divorce of Lothar and Theutberga.

The first letter of Pope Urban was written to a papal legate, charged with resolving a marriage case involving the daughter of Prince Jourdain, ruler of Capua.[152] The pope had become aware of the circumstances surrounding this betrothal and they were shocking. The prince's daughter was barely more than an infant (*infantulam*). Far from a scene of happiness and joy, the betrothal was an exhibition of misery and sadness. The little girl wept. Prince Jourdain, his wife, the family, all wept. This was because they were compelled for reasons of politics to marry off their little daughter, and the daughter had no intention of going along with the arrangement. The pope instructed his legate that if these were, indeed, the facts, the daughter should be declared to be free to marry another. Urban's analysis was not precise. He acknowledged that the compulsion brought to bear was invalidating, but never made it clear whose will was overborne, the daughter's or the father's.[153]

Gratian followed this with a second, more precisely, written letter by the same pontiff.[154] The marriage at issue involved the niece of Sancho Ramirez, the King of Aragon. She was entirely repulsed by her prospective husband, denied that she could be legitimately married to him, and complained that she had been forced into the union against her will. If these allegations proved true, Pope Urban instructed his ambassador, then the marriage should be disregarded and the girl should consider herself free to move on to another.[155] He offered a theological justification: marriage made two persons a single body, and where two bodies were joined as one, there must be a single mind and purpose as well.[156]

But Gratian had still to confront the tradition he was working so energetically to discard. He did so in his very next text. Known as *Lotharius Rex*, this text was promulgated by the 9th-century Pope Nicholas.[157] At issue was the veracity of Theutberga's confession to Lothar's trumped-up charges. The Pope instructed his judges to invalidate her confession if they became convinced it had been coerced, a step they promptly took.[158] John Noonan has read this text as necessary to Gratian's argument because it supplied the one missing ingredient to

152 C. 31, q. 2, c. 1. Cf. Reid, *Power Over the Body*, 38.

153 C. 31, q. 2, c. 1.

154 C. 31, q. 2, c. 3.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid.

157 C. 31, q. 2, c. 4.

158 Ibid.

case he had made out for marital freedom: the power to invalidate what appeared on its face to be a valid and binding act.[159] This is true, of course. But the text is just as valuable because of the way Gratian managed to side-step the whole binding force of the tradition which Lothar and Theutberga's case represented.

Gratian insisted that he sought to follow "the norm of fairness" and to remove "the oppressive weight of injustice" which Pope Nicholas himself had denounced in *Lotharius Rex*.[160] Gratian's real ambition, of course, was to turn coercion into an abstraction and make it appear the enemy of marriage understood as a union of bodies and souls. Priestly blessings and parental involvement remained central features of marriage–Gratian was not about to challenge these customary practices. But no longer was marriage constituted by these now extraneous elements.

Quite remarkably, Gratian's revolution in matrimonial consent swept the field without significant resistance. "Decretists"–lawyers who came by their nick-name for their commentaries on Gratian's *Decretum*–vigorously and unanimously endorsed their master's conclusions. One early anonymous text, the *Summa Parisiensis*, which dates to the late 1150s, forcefully reiterated Gratian's claims (*nullomodo cogatur eidem invita copulari*) while grounding its case on an unqualified endorsement of free will (*ex libera voluntate*).[161] A little later, the Decretist Rufinus added that "where there is coercion instead of consent, marriage cannot commence."[162]

The *Summa 'Induent Sancti'* assembled an even broader array of arguments to justify Gratian's claims. A will that was compelled into marriage was for that reason "inefficacious" (*inefficax*).[163] Alluding to the old Roman-law text, *Si patre cogente*, which permitted fathers a large role in arranging their sons' marriages, the author of this *Summa* declared that such interference must now be understood as bad faith at canon law (*maluisse enim intelligitur*).[164] "Marriages," the author forcefully stated, "had to be free" (*libera enim debent esse matrimonia*).[165]

Why this sudden shift in law? Why this rapid discarding of what was apparently well-settled tradition? While a comprehensive answer is beyond the

159 Noonan, "Power To Choose," 426.

160 C. 31, q. 2, c. 3 (*secundum equitatis normam, ut iniustciae mole non obprimatur*).

161 Terence P. McLaughlin, *The Summa Parisiense on the Decretum Gratiani* (Québec: 1952), 239.

162 Rufinus, *Summa Decretorum*, (ed.) Heinrich Singer (Aalen: 1963), 473.

163 Richard M. Fraher, *"Summa Induent Sancti" A Critical Edition of a Twelfth-Century Canonical Treatise* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1978), 627.

164 Ibid., For *Si patre cogente*, see *Digest* 23.2.22.

165 Ibid.

scope of this essay, it seems that a profound shift in the relationship of the individual and society was occurring at this time. One historian has observed that the "consensual theory of marriage was only part of a more general twelfth century intellectual interest in individualism."[166]

This renewed interest in the personal was certainly observable in the area of sexual conduct. The literature of courtly love, with its subtle exploration of illicit romance, was coming into favor,[167] while the university life of the day featured all sorts of ribald poetry and lusty song.[168] Gratian's reversal of tradition and his exaltation of individual consent might be seen against this backdrop as an effort to inject some measure of personal responsibility into what had certainly become, for many, a matter of personal choice. If individuals were making their own decisions on sexual relations, the reasoning might go, they should also be permitted, if not encouraged, to make binding, enduring marriages as well.

Thus the relationship between priesthood and marriage, once close, grew apart. With the coming of Gratian, it no longer remained possible to contend that the priestly blessing should be constitutive of marriage.[169] Still, even as Gratian worked, there were counter-forces that sought–and succeeded–in rescuing for the priesthood a supervisory function over marriage. While we might investigate a number of issues here–the role of theologians in defining marriage as consisting of both consent and consummation,[170] the continued leading role played by priests in the formation of sexual ethics, the development of

166 Mia Korpiola, *Between Betrothal and Bedding: Marriage Formation in Sweden, 1200–1600* (Leiden: 2009), 118.

167 The literature is vast. Some good recent writing on the subject includes: Marcia Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400–1400* (New Haven, CT: 1997), 183–99; and Bernard Vincent Brady, *Christian Love* (Washington, DC: 2003), 151–63.

168 I have in mind particularly the Goliardic poets. So-called because of the movement's attachment to Golias, or Goliath, a stand-in for the devil, Goliardic verse was typically composed by the new student class inhabiting the medieval universities. Celebrating drunkenness, debauchery, and sexual licentiousness, much of this student verse resounds in its vitality even today. Again, the scholarship is vast. For some representative discussion, see Norman F. Cantor, *Civilization of the Middle Ages* (New York: 1994), 344–46; and Norman F. Cantor, *Medieval Reader* (New York: 1994), 176–78.

169 Gratian's teaching that a girl could not be compelled to marry against her will marked a distinct development in European history. John T. Noonan, Jr., "Intellectual and Demographic History," *Daedalus* 117 (1988), 124.

170 Philip L. Reynolds, "The Regional Origins of Theories About Marital Consent and Consummation During the Twelfth Century," in *Regional Variations in Matrimonial Law and Customs, 1150–1600*, (ed.) Mia Korpiola (Leiden: 2011), 47–58.

a refined theology of marriage as a sacrament[171]–I shall focus on the question of the construction of judicial mechanisms for regulating marital freedom.

The default position of the canonists remained throughout the Middle Ages a preference for marital freedom. This much is evident in the decretal letters of the popes. Pope Innocent III indicated that deaf-mutes might marry.[172] Pope Alexander III declared the same for lepers.[173] Pope Hadrian recognized the right of *servi* ("slaves") to marriage.[174] All of these letters tested limits. How might deaf-mutes indicate consent? How can lepers form a communion of love? What is the balance to strike between those in servitude and their masters? In each case, the priesthood, represented ultimately in the person of the pope, made the case for freedom.

Freedom was also preserved and protected in the courts of canon law that emerged in virtually all the dioceses of Christendom. When marriage cases came before these courts, the claim was frequently made that the union was invalid because of coercion that had occurred prior to the consent. The chief device the (largely) clerical canon lawyers of the age used for determining a valid marriage in these circumstances was the doctrine of "force and fear" (*vi et metu*). Where compulsion was brought to bear so as to compel a party into a marriage, that marriage might be invalidated by the ecclesiastical courts.

The test the popes devised for determining the validity of marriages came to be known as the "steady man" standard.[175] Where grave force or fear was exerted, of a sort that overcome the will of a hypothetical "steady" man, then courts were empowered to declare the union invalid.[176] This standard was explicitly extended to women by decree of Pope Honorius III.[177] The decretalist

171 See, for example, P.P.A. Biller, "Birth Control in the West in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," *Past and Present* 94 (1982): 3–26; Paul Rorem, *Hugh of Victor* (Oxford: 2009), 105–09; and Joseph W. Koterski, S.J., "Aquinas on the Sacrament of Marriage," in *Rediscovering Aquinas and Sacramental Theology*, (eds.) Matthew Levering and Michael Dauphinais (Mundelein, IL: 2009), 102–13.

172 X. 4.1.23; and X. 4.1.25.

173 X. 4.8.2.

174 X. 4.9.1. Cf. Peter Landau, "Hadrians IV Dekretale 'Dignum Est' (X.4.9.1) und die Eheschliessung Unfreier in der Diskussion von Kanonisten und Theologen des 12. Und 13. Jahrhunderts," *Studia Gratiana* 12 (Collectanea Stephan Kuttner: 1967), 511–53.

175 Three papal decretals were especially significant. These include *Cum locum* (X.4.1.14) and *Veniens ad nos* (X.4.1.15), both issued by Pope Alexander III; and *Gemma*, issued by Pope Gregory IX (4.1.29). I discuss these texts in Reid, *Power Over the Body*, 45.

176 John T. Noonan, Jr., *Power To Dissolve: Lawyers and Marriages in the Courts of the Roman Curia* (Cambridge, MA: 1972), 28. A modern-day analogue to this "steady man" standard is tort law's "reasonable person" doctrine.

177 X.4.1.28.

Hostiensis, among the greatest legal virtuosos of his or any age, suggested that this was necessary because women faced a different set of pressures than men and might respond differently than men to acts of coercive force.[178]

Canonists constructed a whole psychology of human freedom to justify this legal practice. Especially significant was the 13th-century Dominican master and canon lawyer Raymond of Peñafort. Raymond recognized that the grosser forms of coercive force–torture, say, or banishment–might certainly overbear most people's free will. But he also acknowledged that individuals must be judged individually. He essentially took a legal standard that had been formulated as an abstract, objective measure of the reasonable person's fortitude and strength of will, and made it into a subjective measure of individual susceptibility to pressure. The judge, Raymond admonished, will take account of "the diversity of persons and places, the quality of fear, and will adjudge a [union] to be marriage or not."[179]

But if the priesthood attempted to regulate marital freedom, such regulation had very definite limits, as was illustrated by the practice of clandestine marriage. The logic of clandestine marriage was simple: if the parties to a marriage were the ministers of the sacrament; if their free consent made a marriage; if they required neither parental permission nor priestly blessing, then they might be free to marry one another even in the absence of witnesses or the making of records.[180] Gone were the days when fathers might compel suitors to pay crippling penalties for the ravishment of their daughters. If the young suitor managed to convince the object of his affections to pronounce the words of matrimonial consent beneath an oak tree on a bright summer's afternoon and then have his way with her, at that point a permanent, life-long marital bond was created.[181]

Social conflict was possible in each of two ways. First, the difficulty of proving the existence of clandestine marriages put all marriages at risk of challenge. No matter how securely you thought your marriage was documented and proven, someone could emerge from your dim and distant past, or from your spouse's past, and allege the existence of a prior clandestine union.[182]

178 Reid, *Power Over the Body*, 56.

179 Ibid., 47 (quoting Raymond of Penafort, *Summa de Matrimonio*, col. 957).

180 This logic is explored in exquisite detail in Göran Lind, *Common Law Marriage: A Legal Institution for Cohabitation* (Oxford: 2008), 97–111.

181 Clandestine marriage clearly offered opportunity, if not sanction, for serious license on the part of the utterly unscrupulous. Conor McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England: Law, Literature, and Practice* (Woodbridge, UK: 2004), 50.

182 One consequence of the informal marriage was that in medieval England, "matrimonial litigation … was dominated … by the suit to establish and enforce a marriage contract." Peter Lucas, "Common Law Marriage," *Cambridge Law Journal* 49 (1990), 120 (quoting Richard H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*, 26).

Clandestine marriage, however, also offered to headstrong young adolescents the opportunity to defy parental wishes.

A particularly vivid example of this defiance at work involved Margery Paston, daughter of Margaret and John Paston, perhaps the single wealthiest family of early 15th-century England. Stubborn and headstrong, young Margery married the family bailiff privately, without benefit of clergy. When confronted by the local bishop, who devoutly wished to do her parents' bidding and ensure the young pair's separation, Margery, who knew her canon law, insisted that her present-tense consent made an unbreakable marriage.[183]

Churchmen certainly attempted to exercise control over this process, although, as the Paston case makes clear, such assertions had their very clear limits. Pope Innocent III, presiding at the Fourth Lateran Council, went as far as any legislator could go. Acting in the name of the council, he declared that impending marriages had to be publicly announced (in a process known as "the publication of the banns"), and that their celebration must also "take place publicly."[184] Couples who did not comply might have their children declared illegitimate,[185] while priests who disobeyed faced suspension from office.[186]

In many parts of Europe, the publication of the banns quickly fell into disuse,[187] although in other regions serious efforts were made to strike against clandestine marriage. England was one place that witnessed vigorous efforts to uproot the practice. English local councils and prelates declared a whole range of sanctions against the practice–including even the flogging and excommunication of violators.[188] While there were certainly couples who attempted to conform to the law, there were many more, like Margery Paston, who were untroubled by its violation.[189]

What did not take place, through the end of the Middle Ages, was any effort to challenge the practice of clandestine marriage at its root. No one, at least in

183 I recount this case in Reid, *Power Over the Body*, 58–61.

184 James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: 1987). Cf. c. 51, Fourth Lateran Council (= X.4.3.3).

185 X.4.3.3.

186 See Charles Donahue, Jr., *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 2007), 32.

187 Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 443.

188 See, for instance, the collection of legal references in R.B. Outhwaite, *Clandestine Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (Rio Grande, OH: 1995), 4.

189 Michael M. Sheehan, "The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth-Century England: Evidence of an Ely Register," in *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies of Michael M. Sheehan*, (ed.) James K. Farge (Toronto: 1996), 50.

any position of influence, undertook to assert that such marriages were invalid. By the dawn of the 16th century, this situation had begun to change, radically.

8.6 Conclusion: The Tridentine Synthesis

In those early years of the 16th century, when so much appeared so radically new, it had become received wisdom that marriage as an institution had failed comprehensively. Young people, it was universally assumed, were headstrong and impulsive, and freely celebrating marriage in defiance of every social norm and convention.[190] Marriage was understood to be in a state of "anarchy."[191] A great European mind like Erasmus was prepared to reject clandestine marriage as invalid and non-sacramental, even while defending other aspects of that noble institution as essential to society and salvation alike.[192] Somehow, it was conceded by all concerned, a role for parental input if not consent, had to be brought back into the process of marital formation.

Through an odd confluence of circumstances, this felt necessity resulted in the reintroduction of a more active role for the priest in the making of marriage. To tell this story, we must begin with Martin Luther's Reformation. Luther's Reformation was, of course, many things. It was a political rebellion against the authority of the Church.[193] It was an economic rebellion of an emergent urban middle class.[194] And, it goes without saying, it was a religious revolution that challenged central tenets of the Catholic faith, as it had evolved during the Middle Ages.

Economic interest and religious innovation were close allies when it came to the Protestant reform of the marriage law. Parents, especially fathers, insisted that the wedding plans of their offspring had to be brought back under paternal control, and Luther was only too happy to oblige.[195] Luther insisted that

190 Joel F. Harrington, "*Hausvater* and *Landesvater*: Paternalism and Marriage Reform in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Central European History* 25 (1992), 55.

191 Reinier Leushuis, "The Mimesis of Marriage: Dialogue and Intimacy in Erasmus's Matrimonial Writings," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004), 1283 (quoting Silvana Seidel Menchi, "Percorsi variegati, percorsi obbligati: Elogio de matrimonio pre-tridentino," in *Matrimonii in dubbio* (2001), 19–20).

192 Reid, *Power Over the Body*, 64.

193 Robert Dean Linder, *The Reformation Era* (Westport, CT: 2008), 27.

194 Robert Kolb, "Martin Luther and the German Nation," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, (ed.) R. Po-chia Hsia (Malden, MA: 2004), 45.

195 In theory, the goal of this reformation was simple: ensuring the reestablishment of patriarchal authority and thus the orderly joining of persons and property, Joel F. Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (Cambridge: 1995), 169.

marriage should not count among the sacraments of the Church, although it remained a holy estate and an important earthly institution whose structure was meant to lead the next generation to knowledge of and obedience to God.[196] He demanded as well the abolition of the medieval ecclesiastical courts, entrusting jurisdiction over matrimonial disputes to the secular realm.[197]

But crucially, for our purposes, Luther required young people to obtain the consent of their parents (or their kin or guardians) prior to marriage. God, Luther declaimed, had commanded this as a feature of the Fourth Commandment: "Honor Thy Mother and Thy Father."[198] And, because marriage was part of the earthly realm and carried with it solemn secular responsibilities, its contracting carried public significance and must therefore take place before at least two witnesses.[199] Swept aside was the old medieval practice of clandestine marriage, with its secret love, hidden emotion, and surreptitious compacts. Although Luther decreed marriage to be a part of the earthly kingdom, it remained a transcendent institution that required close cooperation with the Church and ecclesiastical officials. According to Luther's reforms, "the couple [had to] repeat their vows publicly in the Church, seek the blessing and instruction of the pastor, and register in the public marriage directory kept in the Church."[200]

Even Catholics recognized the value in these reforms. To be sure, Catholic writers would not have gone along with the jettisoning of marriage from the sacramental structure of the Church. And some, though not all, would have rebelled against a "reform" like the reintroduction of a constitutive element for parents in marriage formation. But the abolition of clandestine marriage? Now there was something Catholics might also endorse. As the Reformation carried before it large swaths of Europe, Catholic officials felt the need to respond institutionally. Thus was summoned the Council of Trent, which would meet in twenty-five sessions between December 1545 and December 1563. Prominent on the agenda was the reorganization of the Church's marriage laws.

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196 Martin Luther, "A Sermon on the Estate of Marriage," in *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, (ed.) Timothy Lull (Philadelphia: 2005), 413–17.

197 Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution II: The Impact of the Protestant Revolutions on the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: 2003), 184.

198 John Witte, Jr., "The Reformation of Marriage Law in Martin Luther's Germany: Its Significance Then and Now," *Journal of Law and Religion* 4 (1986), 325.

199 Ibid.

200 John Witte, Jr., *Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation* (Cambridge: 2002), 236.

Catholic reformers knew what they wanted and that was an end to clandestine marriage. Discovering an intellectually satisfying means of arriving at that result posed a challenge. It seemed impossible for the Church to retrace its steps and return to a time before the consent of the parties made the marriage. But might it still be possible to premise the validity of marriage on some externally imposed condition?[201]

This thorny question was discussed, then delayed, then deferred, and finally deliberated upon once again in the council's final year, in the spring and summer of 1563. Debates were heated–so heated, acts of violence were reported. The theologians in attendance were especially fierce in defending the status quo.[202] On the other hand, more practically-minded delegations, such as the French, demanded that parental consent be made necessary to a valid marriage.[203] The council fathers genuinely despaired that a satisfactory resolution might be reached–namely some formulation that might simultaneously preserve the primacy of consent while accommodating the need for social control over marriage formation.[204]

Driven by fatigue or by clarity of vision–it is impossible at our distance to determine which–the council fathers that autumn suddenly hit upon a mutually agreeable formula: henceforth, valid marriage could only be performed in church, before a priest and two witnesses.[205] The parties still married one another, but they had to do it publicly, before God and the world.[206] The priest who witnessed the marriage, furthermore, was charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the parties were canonically free to wed one another and also given other policing functions.[207]

This compromise still conveys something of an arbitrary act of line-drawing. But it is with this decision, call it expedience, call it inspired insight, that the medieval synthesis which we have been tracing is complete.

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201 Hubert Jedin, *Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent: A Retrospective View From the Second Vatican Council* (London: 1967), 142.

202 Harrington, *Reordering Marriage*, 95.

203 Janine Maria Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy, Law* (Burlington, VT: 2007), 63.

204 Harrington, *Reordering Marriage*, 95–96.

205 John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: 2013), 227.

206 Giuseppi Alberigo, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (Freiberg: 1962), 731–35.

207 Thus priests were obliged to "to keep written records of marriages in their parishes;" they were to ensure that parties were not married against their will; and they were supposed to inquire into relationships of consanguinity and affinity. See Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 584.

The final relationship between priesthood and marriage was now defined. The council fathers did not repudiate the medieval experience, they drew upon it. A celibate priesthood, a spiritually fecund priesthood, might exercise a supervisory role over marriage. Through the sacrament of confession, the priesthood might distill and define marital ethics. As the medieval world transitioned from the unsettled time of the Germanic kingdoms to the glories of the high and later Middle Ages, the canonists and theologians recognized the significance of human freedom in the making of marriage. The couple was held to be the ministers of the sacrament, and enjoyed complete freedom from all external authority–whether that be familial, secular, or ecclesiastical. Through preaching, the priesthood might exhort and extol husbands and wives to fulfill their duties. And finally, thanks to the crisis that was the Protestant Reformation, the priesthood might assume the role of umpire and referee, witnessing marriage, ensuring its validity, and exercising a gentle shepherding hand over its successful living out.

CHAPTER 9

Teaching Confession in Thirteenth-Century England: Priests and Laity

Andrew Reeves

9.1 Introduction

By the middle of the 12th century, the thinkers of the cathedral schools and nascent universities of Western Christendom had given the Church's theory and practice on confession the shape that it would in many ways keep down to the present day.[1] This "scholastic turn" in the treatment of confession occurred in the fields of both theology and canon law, both of which disciplines were dedicated to helping clergy understand how to carry out the Church's mission to ensure that everyone achieved salvation.[2] From the middle of the 12th century, the canonists of the Church largely followed Gratian, whose *Decretum* served as the textbook for the study of canon law from the 12th century through the end of the Middle Ages.[3] In his discussion of confession, Gratian places authorities both for and against the requirement that the penitent confess his

1 For the evolution of the sacrament of penance over the course of the 11th and 12th centuries, the classic studies remain Paul Anciaux's *Le sacrament de la pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Louvain: 1949) and Amédée Teetaert, *La Confession aux laïques dans l'église latine depuis le VIIIe jusqu'au XIVe siècle* (Paris: 1926). See also Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: 1977), 3–27. For the best recent survey of confession in the later Middle Ages, see Joseph Goering, "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession," *Traditio* 59 (2004): 175–227.

2 See especially Joseph Goering's "The Scholastic Turn (1100–1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools," in *A New History of Penance* (ed.) Abigail Firey (Leiden: 2008), 219–37. In the 12th century the disciplines of theology and canon law had not yet fully separated. John Van Engen, "From Practical Theology to Divine Law: The Work and Mind of Medieval Canonists," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Munich, 13–18 July 1992* (eds.) Peter Landau and Joers Mueller (Vatican City: 1997), 873–96.

3 On the origins of the *Decretum*, see Anders Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge: 2000), and, more generally, James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (New York: 1995), 37–49. Although the *Decretum* was never authoritative in the same way that the Church's councils, synods, and papal rulings were, Gratian's collection helped shape the thought of school-trained clergy through the end of the Middle Ages and beyond.

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sins to a priest before coming to the conclusion that the penitent should confess to a priest when possible.[4]

Peter Lombard's *Sentences* served the same purposes for theology as Gratian's did for canon law: it served as the theology textbook of the universities and cathedral schools from the later 12th century to the end of the Middle Ages.[5] Lombard's distinction between mortal and venial sins is part of his larger treatment of the fall of Adam and Eve, which itself is part of his overall treatment of sin and evil in the world.[6] A mortal sin, he concludes, is when a Christian has a desire to commit a sin and then follows through on such a desire through one's own choice. Such a sin results in damnation even for a baptized Christian.[7] The Christian could return to a state of grace, grasp the second plank after the shipwreck – this commonplace was already centuries old by Lombard's time – through a process of contrition, a deep sorrow for having offended God, confession of one's sin, and satisfaction for the offense: penance in deed to make up for the temporal debt remaining even after the restoration of the state of grace. Like Gratian, Lombard argues for the general necessity of confession to a priest, but also leaves open the possibility of the efficacy of confession to God alone or a layperson when a priest is unavailable.[8]

Neither Gratian's nor Lombard's teachings were new, but were rather the systematization of the canonical and theological writings of the preceding five centuries. This systematization of the Church's thinking on confession would lead to a greater emphasis on regular confession by the Church's laity, much of which we can already see in action by the 12th century.[9] This already potent

4 Goering, "Scholastic Turn," 224–25.

5 Richard Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 2, *The Heroic Age* (Oxford: 1995), 145, Marcia Colish, "From the Sentence Collection to the *Sentence* Commentary and the *Summa*: Parisian Scholastic Theology, 1130–1215," in *Manuels programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales* (ed.) Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: 1994), 9–29.

6 See especially Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae. Editio tertia ad fidem codicum antiquiorum restituta* 2, d. 24 (Grottaferrata: 1971). The *Sentences* have recently been translated by Giulio Silano as *The Sentences. Book 1: The Mystery of the Holy Trinity* (Toronto: 2007); *The Sentences. Book 2: On Creation* (Toronto: 2008); *The Sentences. Book 3: On the Incarnation of the Word* (Toronto: 2008); and *The Sentences. Book 4: On the Doctrine of Signs* (Toronto: 2010).

7 2 *Sent.* 42 c. 3.2.

8 See Silano's introduction to *The Sentences. Book 4*, xii–xxxvii for a discussion of Lombard's thinking in dialogue with canonists and theologians of the 12th century.

9 Alexander Murray, "Confession Before 1215," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 3 (1993): 51–81 provides a good discussion of what we can know about the practice of confession prior to the Fourth Lateran Council. R. Emmet McLaughlin, "Truth, Tradition,

emphasis on lay confession received the sanction of the Church as an institution in 1215, when the Fourth Lateran Council's twenty-first canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, required that every Christian, lay or clerical, confess to his or her "proper priest," be absolved, and take communion at least once a year.[10] This requirement would emphasize the role of the priest according to his function as a pastor and confessor–a function nevertheless based on the ontological status conferred by his ordination and possession of the keys of binding and loosing.

In England (i.e. the provinces of Canterbury and York), the episcopate took the council's ruling and expressed a striking unity of purpose in enforcing the decrees of universal confession.[11] Nine of England's bishops had been present at the council, and upon their return to England, they set about to implement its decrees as part of a general program of reform of the Church's moral life as well as specific efforts to reform the English church in the aftermath of the Interdict to which England had been subject from 1208 to 1213.[12]

The theory and practice of confession had been articulated by schoolmen, who came from the educational elite of Western Europe. The task of putting these doctrines into practice, however, would fall to the parish priest, a man who, more often than not, would be a man of his parish, trained by a form of

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and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance," in *New History of Penance*, 19–72 discusses the historiography of the degree of continuity of the Church's practice of confession, noting that such discussions often contained a strong element of sectarian polemic.

10 The literature on Lateran IV and the practice of confession and a push for moral reform is vast. Peter Biller's introduction to *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK: 1998), 1–33, esp. 2–13 provides a useful *accessus* to the Council and how it related to confession.

11 Murray, "Confession Before 1215," 63. He perceptively notes that it was by no means a given that the decrees of the Council on confession would translate into regular practice. Indeed, to think so is to anachronistically ascribe a greater level of cohesion to the medieval Church than it would have possessed. Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215–1272: With Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (Oxford: 1934) is the foundational study of the English episcopate's successes and failures in the field of moral reform following Lateran IV, although much of their work on Church history has been superseded by more recent works of institutional history as well as a great many biographical studies of individual bishops. See Andrew Reeves, "Teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in England: Lateran IV to *Ignorantia sacerdotum*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 43–47.

12 For the interdict, see Christopher Cheney, "King John and the Papal Interdict," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 31 (1948): 295–317.

apprenticeship to serve as the custodian of his local cultus.[13] His duties were not those of a theologian. He would preside over the rituals that gave definition to the life of the rural parish and also serve as a community leader, carrying out such tasks as acting as a representative of his locality against the crown in the face of royal attempts to impose taxation.[14] With the mandate of *Omnis utriusque sexus*, in addition to his role as a local leader, he received a requirement to be adept in the moral theology and canon law of the Church and to be a skilled moral counselor to his lay parishioners. The theology behind *Omnis utriusque sexus* required the priest to make use of the two keys of the sacrament of priesthood: not only the power of binding and loosing, but also knowledge and discernment, the skill necessary to assign a penance and insure that a penitent would not repeat his or her sin.[15] Not only would the priest himself need a solid command of the Church's moral theology and canon law, but he would need to be able to explain these basic doctrines to his flock, to teach them the sins to be avoided and the virtues to be cultivated, and indeed, the necessity of confession in the first place.

The basic principles of the liturgy might be passed on by a form of apprenticeship. However, to properly administer a confession, the priest would need training in doctrines and practices that themselves had only received definitive form very recently.[16] By the 14th and 15th centuries, the average parish clerk could be a competent catechist and even moral theologian. English church history often associates the training of priests with *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, the ninth canon of archbishop of Canterbury John Pecham's 1281 Council of Lambeth.[17] In this canon, which eventually would be copied and circulated on its own, Pecham outlines a basic "syllabus" of what a priest would need to know

13 Joseph Goering, "The Thirteenth-Century English Parish," in *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities* (ed.) John Van Engen (Grand Rapids, MI: 2004), 208–22, and C.H. Lawrence "The English Parish and its Clergy in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Medieval World* (eds.) P. Linehan and J. Nelson (London: 2001), 648–70, discuss the largely cultic, ritual nature of the priest's work in the 13th century.

14 Jeffrey H. Denton, "The Competence of the Parish Clergy in Thirteenth-Century England," in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honor of RB Dobson: Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium* (eds.) Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford (Donington: 2002), 273–85, esp. 278–79.

15 Lombard, 4 *Sent.* 19 c. 1.3. See especially John Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton, NJ: 1970), 52–53.

16 On the apprenticeship of a parish priest, see Goering, "Thirteenth-Century English Parish," 210.

17 *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church, II: AD 1205–1313* (eds.) F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford: 1964), vol. 2, 900. On the catechetical activities of the parish priest in the years after *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, see especially Chapter 2

and teach his parishioners, to include the Ten Commandments as well as the virtues and vices. The process of the Church as an institution ensuring that the priest had the basic wherewithal both to administer confession and to teach basic doctrines to his parishioners was already well underway (especially in England) by the 13th century and in many ways preceded Lateran IV.[18] The priest in 13th-century England had several different routes to the necessary theological and canonical training to serve as an effective pastor and confessor.

This training would come from schools, from the study of pastoral literature, and from his superiors in the hierarchy of the diocese. From the Third Lateran Council in 1179, the Church's institutions from the papacy to local episcopates had sought to bring the endeavors of the schools out to the Church at large, to make theology serve the cure of souls.[19] The Third and Fourth Lateran Councils both mandated that cathedral schools take in poor boys and educate them for a reduced fee or even free of charge.[20] In addition, school-educated clergy had begun to write works to help more modestly educated clergy navigate the theological and canonical requirements of pastoral care, to include not just confession, but also preaching and catechesis. This literature could include anything from short pamphlets a few folios in length to lengthy *summas*. Leonard Boyle coined the term *pastoralia* to describe this body of literature, which would give the cleric with the cure of souls a greater command of the Church's theology and canon law.[21] In addition to training in the schools and their own study of *pastoralia*, English priests would often receive basic instructions at diocesan

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of Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: 2002).

18 Murray, "Confession Before 1215," 58–59, 74–79. He argues that confession was regular in 12th-century England (if not in the rest of Europe), but that Carolingian and 10th- and 11th-century penitentials may have reflected an ideal rather than practice. Rob Meens argues that an examination of the manuscripts of penitentials suggests "that penance and confession were important features of early medieval religious life." See "The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance," in *Handling Sin*, 35–61, 54. Meens has noted that evidence for confession administered by parochial clergy in the 10th and 11th centuries is equivocal in "Penitentials and the Practice of Penance in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 7–21.

19 Indeed, one often-neglected aspect of the rise of cathedral schools in the so-called 12th Century Renaissance was that their goal was to train pastors. Jean Leclercq, "The Renewal of Theology," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (eds.) Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Oxford: 1982), 68–87, 79.

20 Canons of Lateran III, in Tanner vol. 1, 211–25, c. 18; Canons of Lateran IV, in Tanner, vol. 1, 230–71, c. 11.

21 See Leonard Boyle's "The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179–1215," in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III* (ed.) Filippo Liotta (Siena: 1986), 45–56; "The Fourth

synods as well as at archdeaconry and rural deanery meetings. We shall examine each of these methods of instruction in turn.

9.2 The Training of the English Priest: Schools

Almost every cleric would have at least received a basic education at a grammar school. In such a school, boys would learn how to sound out the letters of the Roman alphabet and such foundational prayers as the Hail Mary and the Lord's Prayer before moving on to a study of elementary grammar, i.e. Latin.[22] A priest would have ready access to such an education: by the end of the 13th century, there were at least seventy schools of all types throughout England. These numbers reflect schools that have left written evidence; many more schools would be based on arrangements between grammar masters and students that left few traces that come down to the present day, so the actual number of schools was almost certainly much greater.[23] Over the course of the 13th century, the basic texts of the grammar schools would come to reflect the needs of the English church for trained pastors. After learning the alphabet and the basics of Latin grammar, students would study Latin verses. In the 12th and 13th centuries, these works were often the poetry of classical authors such as Ovid and the *Distichs of Cato*.[24] By the end of the 13th century, however, the curriculum had shifted from classical texts to works like the poems of William de Montibus, a Parisian schoolmaster and eventual chancellor (and thus schoolmaster) of Lincoln Cathedral from the late 12th century to his death in 1213. His *Peniteas cito peccator* came to have a central place in the curriculum of the grammar school on down to the end of the Middle Ages.[25]

Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England* (ed.) Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: 1985), 30–43.

22 Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT: 2006), 55–60.

23 Nicholas Orme, "Schools and Society from the Twelfth Century to the Reformation," in *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: 1989), 5.

24 The *Distichs* was not actually a composition of Cato, but rather a 3rd-century work later attributed to him. Orme, *Medieval Schools*, 98.

25 Marjorie Curry Woods and Rita Copeland, "Classroom and Confession," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (ed.) David Wallace (Cambridge: 1999), 376–406, particularly 380–85. Joseph Goering's *William de Montibus* (*c. 1140–1213*): *The Schools and Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto: 1994) contains William's biography, editions and studies of his works, and a larger discussion of pastoral literature of the 13th century.

William's *Peniteas cito* was part of his larger oeuvre of early *pastoralia*. He had written these to teach basic theology in a memorable form. His *Numerale* presents basic Christian doctrines and classifies them on the basis of numbers, with a discussion ranging from there being only one God, to the three persons of that God, and so on down to the twelve articles of faith.[26] *Peniteas cito* presents the doctrine of confession in mnemonic verse: it is short and memorable – one hundred fifty-five lines altogether – and it starts with the need for contrition, confession, and satisfaction before going through what's necessary in confession, how the sinner is to make a complete confession, the capital vices by which to organize a confession, and the penances necessary for satisfaction.[27] Over the subsequent centuries, *Peniteas cito* would frequently be glossed with prose explanations of the doctrines and practices that it laid out.[28] It would come to form a key part of the grammar school curriculum over the 13th century, which indicates that not only the officials of the episcopate, but also local grammar masters were thinking of the needs of the schools to train clergy for the cure of souls.

A small number of parish priests would have received an advanced education in theology or canon law at a university or cathedral school. Indeed, while much of the intellectual history of the central and later Middle Ages has focused on the university, the cathedral schools themselves, although they never attained the status of such centers of learning as Oxford, Paris, or Bologna, nevertheless provided an advanced theological and canonical education.[29] Pope Honorius III's letter of 1219 that became Pope Gregory IX's decretal *Super specula* in 1234 allowed clergy to be absent while studying theology or canon law and yet still keep the proceeds of their benefices; this decretal's primary aim may have been to ensure a supply of trained grammar masters to the cathedral churches. In 1298, Pope Boniface VIII's apostolic constitution *Cum ex eo* would allow students dispensation for up to five years of non-residence to study theology and canon law.[30]

Some English parish priests were receiving an advanced theological or canonical education well before *Cum ex eo*. In his year as bishop of Bath and

26 William de Montibus, *Numerale*, in Goering, *William de Montibus*, 227–60.

27 *Peniteas cito* is printed in Goering, *William de Montibus*, 116–38.

28 Woods and Copeland, "Classroom and Confession," 386–88.

29 See especially Nicholas Orme, "Education and Learning at an English Cathedral," in *Education and Society*, 189–207, which concentrates on Exeter. Orme also discusses the cathedral schools of Salisbury and Wells in *Education in the West of England, 1066–1548* (Exeter: 1976), 68–73, 82–85.

30 On both *Super specula* and *Cum ex eo*, see Leonard Boyle, "The Constitution 'Cum ex eo' of Boniface VIII," *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962): 263–302.

Wells from 1265 to 1266, Walter Giffard licensed at least one rector to study theology.[31] After his preferment to the archiepiscopate of York, he provided nine more licenses between 1266 and 1279, with vicars as well as rectors receiving licenses to be absent from their parish to study for a fixed length of time.[32] The licensing of vicars indicates not just that parochial clergy were going to schools, but also that those clergy in consistent contact with the laity were also receiving such an education–rectors could often be non-resident, but vicars seldom were.[33] Thomas Cantilupe fought vigorously against pluralism and non-residency by clergy, but as bishop of Hereford he licensed twenty-three rectors to study theology and canon law between 1275 and 1282.[34] So too did Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester also provided thirty-seven licenses for non-residency in order to study theology in the years before *Cum ex eo*.[35]

The education received in a cathedral school would have been the same sort of advanced theological education as received in a university. Although Oxford and Cambridge drew some of the most brilliant scholars, nearly all of England's secular cathedrals provided theological lectures in the 13th century.[36] As far back as the early 20th century, A.G. Little showed that the sort of materials covered at a cathedral school would have been the same sort of theology as seen in the universities.[37] Even the universities' focus in their education was on training pastors: Thomas Aquinas's disputed questions often consisted of what did and did not constitute a mortal sin, the sort of question designed to train a conscientious pastor and confessor.[38]

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31 *The Registers of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1265–1266, and of Henry Bowett, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1401–1407* (ed.) Thomas Scott Holmes (London: 1899), 11.

32 *The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266–1279* (ed.) William Brown (Durham: 1904), Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 106, 155.

33 Lawrence, "English Parish," 652–63.

34 *The Register of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford* (A.D. *1275–1282*) (eds.) R. G. Griffiths and W. W. Capes (Hereford: 1906–07), 8, 29, 41–42, 45, 101, 120, 125, 134–35, 136, 157, 176, 188, 189, 190, 194, 212, 235, 290.

35 *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester: Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, September 23rd, 1268, to August 15th, 1301* (ed.) J.W. Willis Bund (Oxford: 1902), 2–3, 5, 13, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 40, 45, 47, 50, 54, 58, 63, 74, 90, 91, 92, 96, 140, 141, 176, 201, 366, 392.

36 Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: 1949), 200.

37 A.G. Little, "Theological Schools in Medieval England," *English Historical Review* 55:220 (1940): 624–30.

38 Leonard Boyle, "The Quodlibets of Thomas and Pastoral Care," *The Thomist* 38 (1974): 232–56. As this essay focuses primarily on the parish priest, I mention little of the mendicant orders and their training in confession.

9.3 Pastoralia

But as Moorman noted, men with cathedral school or university training were a small minority of ordained clergy.[39] How would the vast majority of clergy have received a theological education after training in a grammar school? *Pastoralia* could bridge the gap between those clergy with a theological education and those who may have only had a modest education in grammar. The most extensive guides to confession were the *summas*–and these had undergone an extensive evolution over the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries as the Church's practice of confession itself evolved. In the earlier Middle Ages, guides to confession usually consisted of specific penances that clergy were to assign for specific sins: the so-called tariffed penitentials.[40] Although on the surface these canons seem rigid, their users had often recognized the need for the confessor to temper the penances.[41] Both the canonists and theologians of the 12th century had eventually come to the conclusion that penance should usually be left to the judgement of the priest (although many would often note that the ancient canons should be kept whenever possible).[42] Writers such as Alan of Lille argued that people in earlier times had been made of sterner stuff, but that since his contemporaries could not sustain such penances, the confessor should temper them.[43]

This call to temper penances led to a transition from the penitential to a new style of literature. Moral theologians in the later part of the 12th century, especially Parisians under the influence of Peter the Chanter, sought to train the confessor and hone his judgement in assigning penances and counseling penitents. They often did so by writing up test cases so that the student could use these cases to learn the basic principles of assigning a penance that would

39 John Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1945), 94–95.

40 Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "À propos des premières *Summae confessorum*: Théologie et droit canonique," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 26 (1959): 264–306, 265.

41 Both Murray "Confession Before 1215," 60–63; and Pierre Payer, "The Humanism of the Penitentials and the Continuity of the Penitential Tradition," *Medieval Studies* 46 (1984): 340–54 note that these tariffed penitentials usually allowed the confessor a broad degree of latitude in adjusting assigned penances.

42 The move from assigned penances to penances based on the judgement of the priest can probably be traced to the work of canonists in the second half of the 12th century seeking to articulate a doctrine on judicial discretion on passing a sentence. This work by canonists happened largely in dialogue with commentators on Roman law. See Laurent Mayali, "The Concept of Discretionary Punishment in Medieval Jurisprudence," in *Studia in honorem eminentissimi cardinalis Alphonsi M. Stickler* (Rome: 1992), 299–315, esp. 305–15.

43 Michaud-Quantin, "*Summae confessorum*," 283.

be morally salutary for the penitent.[44] By the 13th century, most moral theologians and canonists would recognize that penances were up to the judgement of the priest–although notorious sins such as arson, forgery, sacrilege, and the striking of clergy were reserved to the bishop or in some cases the pope.[45]

Two works during this transitional period from tariffed penitential to case book were Bartholomew of Exeter's mid-12th-century *Penitentiale* and Robert of Flamborough's *Liber poenitentialis*, written sometime around 1213.[46] Bartholomew's and Robert's texts are the work of canonists: many of their citations come from Ivo of Chartres or Burchard of Worms. Robert was also writing under the influence of the moral theologians in the intellectual circle of Peter the Chanter whose goal was to apply the theology and canon law of the Church to eradicating vices in the life of the Church and helping laypeople live a holy life. It is thus meant to serve as a practical handbook of canon law for the priest.[47]

Another churchman from this circle was Thomas of Chobham, Parisian master and eventual subdean of Salisbury under bishop Richard Poore.[48] His *Cum miserationes* (or, as it's more generally known, *Summa confessorum*) exists in close to a hundred extant manuscripts: it was thus one of the more influential *summas* on confession through the later Middle Ages.[49] Thomas's work is more theological than canonical, and it outlines many different specific cases of sins related to the capital vices so that a priest can learn how to gain the judgement necessary to hear a confession (although in many instances–particularly those of homicide–he borrows heavily from the penitential canons of Bartholomew and Ivo).[50] His organizing principle for discussion of penances and test cases is the seven capital vices.

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44 Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, vol. 1, 53–57.

45 Goering, "Internal Forum," 8.

46 Bartholomew of Exeter's *Penitentiale* is printed with a larger study of the man and his writings in Adrian Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter: Bishop and Canonist* (Cambridge: 1937). Robert of Flamborough's work is edited as *Liber poenitentialis: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, by J.J. Francis Firth (Toronto: 1971).

47 Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, vol. 1, 32–33, Firth, prologue to *Liber poenitentialis*, 1–53, 11–12.

48 On Thomas's life and career, see Franco Morenzoni, *Des Écoles aux paroisses: Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: 1995), 13–21. On his relation to the Chanter, see Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants,* 34–36.

49 Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 23. See Goering, *William de Montibus*, 83–86 for a more detailed discussion of the character of Chobham's *Summa confessorum*.

50 Michaud-Quantin, "*Summae confessorum*," 289–90. Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum* (ed.) F. Broomfield (Louvain: 1968), 51–61 consists mostly of borrowings from Bartholomew of Exeter.

The notion of the capital vices, seven sins that lie at the root of all others, with *superbia*, pride, as their wellspring, goes back to Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.[51] These vices were pride, wrath, envy, gluttony, greed, *luxuria*, and the sin referred to as sloth, despair, or *accidie*.[52] Over the 12th century, writers such as Hugh of Saint-Victor came to employ the vices and virtues in a set of schematic classifications that also included the Ten Commandments, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the petitions of the Lord's Prayer.[53]

The *summas* were not the only texts to organize discussion of confession around the capital vices. We also see shorter booklets on the administration of a confession.[54] These texts would often guide a priest through how to question the penitent based on the seven capital vices; moreover, some would also contain collections of penitential canons.[55] These works were often only a few folios in length, and would usually be bound up into larger miscellanies or circulate as unbound quires. They served as guidebooks to priests in how to carry out a confession, and would usually outline the process by which a priest was to go about questioning the penitent, dealing with both the particulars of

51 *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: 1977–1999), s.v. "Tugenden und Laster, Tugdend- und Lasterkataloge," 1086–1087. For a more broad-ranging treatment of the vices in the Middle Ages, see the studies that appear in *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins* (eds.) Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard (York, UK: 2012).

52 Although *luxuria* is often translated into "lust" in English, a more accurate translation is "lechery" when referring to those desires and actions that contravene the Church's teachings on sexuality. On lechery, see especially Pierre Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession, 1150–1300* (Toronto: 2009), 75–100. On *accidia*/*tristitia*, see Kristen Allen, "*Sicut scintilla ignis in medio maris*: Theological Despair in the Works of Isidore of Seville, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, and Dante Alighieri" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 1–19.

53 "Tugended und Laster," 1086–87.

54 Boyle referred to such works as *Modi confidendi*. "Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," 38. Any study of 13th-century *pastoralia* will necessarily be brief and selective. Morton W. Bloomfield, *et al.*, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 AD: Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster* (Cambridge, MA: 1979) lists thousands of such works existing in manuscript form, and the number even of those works that have been printed is vast. I have chosen to focus particularly on those tracts issued along with bishops' statutes, as these were the ones most likely to end up in the possession of the parish priest.

55 Robert Grosseteste's *De modo confitendi* serves as an example of a text that both provides basic instructions to the priest on administering a confession and also has a second half comprised of penitential canons drawn from older sources. Joseph Goering and F.A.C. Mantello, "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987): 52–112.

where in the Church a priest and penitent were to sit, the posture of the priest and penitent, how the priest was to open the confession, how he was to conduct his enquiry of the penitent's sins, and the like.[56]

9.4 Synods and Pastoralia

Certain of these pastoral tracts show a close relation to the work of the English episcopate of the 13th century and the efforts of its bishops to ensure that all priests had a rudimentary level of competence. Bishops would frequently call together the clergy of a diocese in synods—Lateran IV required such meetings on a semi-annual basis—where they would often issue legislation.[57] The priests would be required to bring copies of these bishops' statutes with them back to the parish and keep copies of these statutes on hand. These statutes often gave specific directions to the priest as to how to conduct confessions as well as guidelines in instructing their parishioners in the basics of Christian morals and doctrine. Dioceses were divided up into archdeaconries that were themselves divided up into rural deaneries; priests would often receive an *ad hoc* instruction on matters pertaining to the cure of souls at archdeaconry and rural deanery meetings.[58]

Synodal statutes were not the only documents issued by bishops or their staff to direct their own practices and their training of their parishioners. Certain of England's bishops with a conscientious reforming spirit would also draw up brief handbooks on the basics of the capital vices and how to conduct a confession. Alexander Stavensby and Walter Cantilupe were both bishops with a strong reforming drive: Stavensby had been a schoolmaster on the Continent

56 For a detailed description of the practice of a confession, see Goering, "Internal Forum," 192–94.

57 On diocesan synods, Cheney's *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1968) is still a useful source, as are his essays in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford: 1973). On the development of the diocesan synod through the 13th century, see Odette Pontal *Les statuts synodaux françiase du XIIIe siècle. Tome I: Les statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'ouest* (*XIIIe siècle*) (Paris: 1971), vol. 1, xxv–lxii. For a more recent treatment of episcopal legislation and the evolution of the diocesan synod, see Joseph Avril, "L'évolution du synode diocésain, principalement dans la France du Nord, du Xe au XIIIe siècle," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Vatican City: 1988), 305–25, and his "L'institution synodale et la législation épiscopale des temps Carolingiens au IVe concile du Latran," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 89 (2003): 273–307.

58 Reeves, "Lateran IV to *Ignorantia sacerdotum*," 59.

and closely involved with the early Dominicans even before becoming bishop of Bath and Wells in 1224.[59] Cantilupe, too, was close friends with Robert Grosseteste and other church reformers.[60] Each drew up a treatise to teach the priest how to administer a confession and also how to instruct his parishioners in basic doctrine and morals. Robert Grosseteste, who was both a schoolmaster and then a zealous reformer when he served as bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, drew up several short treatises on confession in his tenure as bishop of Lincoln, two of which–*Quoniam cogitatio* and *Templum Dei*–may have been meant to be distributed with his statutes.[61] These tracts reflect an English episcopate made up of circles of reform-minded churchmen: Grosseteste was close friends with both Cantilupe and Stavensby, and all three shared an interest in the cure of souls.[62] Indeed, Cantilupe borrowed heavily from *Quoniam cogitatio* and *Templum Dei* in the composition of his own treatise, *Omnis aetas*.[63] A generation later, Bishop Peter Quinel of Exeter would copy *Omnis aetas* and issue it with his own synodal statutes in 1287.[64] The vast majority of the extant manuscripts of these treatises have probably been lost: synodal materials would often be unbound and so have a short life; even the synodal statutes of the 13th century have come down to us only in fragmentary form.[65]

The Churchmen who drew up these works of *pastoralia*, whether pamphlets or *summas*, did so in order to train parochial clergy to serve in a role as pastors and confessors. The parish priest of medieval England (and indeed, of Western Christendom as a whole) often received his position not due to any sense of

59 Nicholas Vincent, "Master Alexander of Stainsby," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46:4 (1995): 615–40, 620–24.

60 Philippa Hoskin, "Cantilupe's Crusade? Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester and the Baronial Rebellion," *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society* (2012): 91–102, 93–94.

61 Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor, "The *Summulae* of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinel (1287)," *Speculum* 63:3 (1992), 577 fn. 6. Goering and Mantello's "Robert Grosseteste's *Quoniam cogitatio,* a Treatise on Confession," *Traditio* 67 (2012): 341–84, which contains both a study and edition of *Quoniam cogitation*, has shown that this work was probably similar in genre to those pamphlets written by Stavensby and Cantilupe. See especially 353. *Templum Dei* (eds.) Goering and Mantello (Toronto: 1984).

62 Vincent, "Alexander Stainsby," 626.

63 Goering and Mantello, "Treatise on Confession," 348–51.

64 Goering and Taylor, "*Summulae*," 582–85. Cantilupe's *Omnis etas* was long thought to have been lost, but Goering and Taylor have shown that the text of Cantilupe's *Omnis aetas* was the source of Quinel's treatise on confession.

65 On the perishability of quires, see John Shinners, "Parish Libraries in Medieval England," in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (eds.) Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, IN: 1997), 207–30, 219.

personal devotion, but rather for more mundane reasons. A rector would often get his position because the owner of a church's advowson (i.e., the right to submit a candidate for rector to the bishop) would use the living associated with a parish church as a means of distributing patronage.[66] A priest appointed for entirely earthly reasons might nevertheless perform his spiritual functions and indeed feel an obligation to do so because of his social and theological role. At a more exalted level, after all, bishops appointed for political reasons would often turn out to be able pastors and diocesan administrators.[67] The codicological evidence suggests that parish priests would likewise rise to the requirements of their positions.

9.5 Priests' Access to Pastoralia

The text and provenance of both *summas* and pamphlets shows that the parish priest had regular access to the teachings on moral theology necessary to conduct a confession, to serve as a counselor for his parishioners, and to instruct them in morals and the sacrament of confession. A small number of parish priests would actually have owned larger *summas*. A short extract of Bartholomew of Exeter's *Penitentiale* appears in Cambridge, John's College 62, a pastoral miscellany dating to the 13th century. This codex has characteristics that point to it having been owned by a parish priest. It contains Alexander Stavensby's short treatise on confession as well as the 1237 synodal statutes of Giles of Bridport, bishop of Salisbury. Synodal statutes in particular are a strong indication of a parochial provenance (since priests were required to keep copies of them), as is the presence in the codex of treatises like *Templum Dei* and Alexander Stavensby's treatise. The selection of Bartholomew's text also shows a concern for a more judgement-based administration of confession: rather than the latter part of the text, which outlines specific canons, it is a selection of the opening portions of the text, which discuss the nature of confession, penance, and remission.[68] Cambridge, Pembroke College 288 is a 13th-century codex with Robert of Flamborough's *Liber poenitentialis*. In the 14th century, it appears in the possession of Walter de Stratton, rector of Teversham from 1337

66 See especially Lawrence, "English Parish," 655, and, on the advowson more generally, Peter M. Smith, "The Advowson: The History and Development of a Most Peculiar Property," *Ecclesiastical Law Journal: The Journal of the Ecclesiastical Law Society* 5:26 (2000): 320–39.

67 Reeves, "Lateran IV to Ignorantia Sacerdotum," 44–45.

68 Cambridge, St. John's 62, fols. 120r–122r.

to 1349.[69] Moreover, we have at least one known instance in 13th-century England of a parish priest possessing a sizable library: Geoffrey de Lawath, rector of Magnus, had forty-nine books on theology and grammar.[70]

Most manuscripts of these *summas*, however, have a provenance showing possession by monastic or cathedral libraries. We should note, however, that a book's presence in such a library did not preclude access to such a work by parochial clergy. Several extant manuscripts of Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum* came from monasteries.[71] Cathedral monasteries would sometimes serve as lending libraries to parochial clergy. In 1277, for example, the cathedral library of Ely loaned a book of simples and a copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* to John of Walford, rector of Suburn (who was also a *magister*).[72] The catalogue of the cathedral priory also shows the return of eleven books borrowed by Roger of Huntingfield, the rector of Balsham–although the record is of Roger's executor returning the books after his death.[73] He borrowed works of theology, particularly the writing of Henry of Ghent and Thomas Aquinas, and, more importantly, he does appear to have been resident in his parish church. Augustinian libraries also appear to have furnished books to parochial clergy. Lanthony's medieval catalogue records that the vicar of Cherington had borrowed five books, and in the early 14th century a Cambridgeshire rector borrowed books from the Augustinian priory of Anglesey.[74] A 13th-century priest with the initiative and desire to fulfill his role as a good confessor would thus have had ready access to even the most advanced pastoral literature.

Much more common for a parish priest than the *summa*, however, would be the smaller pamphlets on confession and other aspects of moral theology. The pamphlets issued by bishops for their parish priests would have had a broad circulation in the diocese. Similar short works would also have enjoyed robust circulation at the diocesan level. William de Montibus's works in

69 Firth, prologue, 22.

70 Moorman, *Church Life*, 99, fn. 1.

71 These are Trinity College Cambridge 365, Oxford, Queen's College 372, Cambridge, University Library Ii. I. 22, and London, British Library, Royal, 11. A. 1. As this essay concerns England, I am focusing on only those manuscripts of English provenance. For full descriptions of the codices containing *Summa confessorum*, see Broomfield, introduction to *Summa confessorum*, xi–lxxxviii, lxxvii–lxxxi; Bloomfield, *Incipits*, no. 1145.

72 Richard Sharpe *et al.* (eds.) *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London: 1996), 128.

73 Ibid., 129.

74 Peter J. Lucas, "Borrowing and Reference," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 2006), 244–45; Shinners, "Parish Libraries," 226, note 36. The Lanthony catalogue gives no dates for the loans to the vicar.

particular show strong evidence of such circulation. Oxford, New College 98 contains his *Numerale* and *Similitudinarium*.[75] This codex was part of the parish furnishings in the Church of Haddenham in the diocese of Ely: its wax-scot list shows it to have been in the possession of the church between 1230 and 1240.[76] This church, moreover, was served not by its rector, nor even by its vicar, but by a chaplain. Scholars have often noted that the chaplain would have been the most poorly paid and least able of parish clergy, but in this instance the chaplain would have had access to some fairly sophisticated works of moral theology.[77] The presence of a manuscript of William's works in a parish church is not an isolated example. Three other manuscripts of William's works contain diocesan constitutions, in this case, those of Robert Grosseteste.[78]

9.6 Pastoralia and the Diocese

The diocesan chain of command would have been the primary venue by which the moral theology found in the greater *summas* made it to the parish priests. Most of the manuscripts of the works of Thomas of Chobham, Robert of Flamborough, and Bartholomew of Exeter have a provenance that places them in either monastic or cathedral libraries.[79] Secular and monastic cathedral libraries were not the only extensive collections of books of theology. In one instance, we encounter the rural dean of Worcester having two carts full of books detained, which indicates that even an official fairly low in the hierarchy could have a sizable library.[80] The rural deans and archdeacons who would often provide basic instructions to diocesan clergy at their meetings would have had regular access both to the foundational works of the Church's moral theology and canon law as well as *summas* specifically designed for confessors. Moreover, the bishops of the 13th century and their staff would also have had a strong theological education. For example, Thomas of Chobham was the subdean of Salisbury under Richard Poore, and

75 Goering, *William de Montibus*, 573.

76 Dorothy M. Owen, "Two Medieval Parish Books from the Diocese of Ely; New College MS 98 and Wisbech Museum MS 1," *Reading Medieval Studies* 11 (1985): 121–31.

77 On chaplains, see Lawrence, "English Parish," 653.

78 These three codices are London, British Library Royal 9.A.XIV, Cambridge, Peterhouse 255, and Cambridge, Goneville and Caius 138/78.

79 On the manuscripts of Robert of Flamborough and Bartholomew of Exeter, see Firth, prologue, 20–32; and Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, 164–66, respectively.

80 Moorman, *Church Life*, 99, fn. 1.

Robert of Flamborough was also good friends with the bishop, to whom he dedicated the *Liber poenitentialis*.[81] Robert Grosseteste was one of the premier minds of the early 13th century, widely renowned as both a theologian and also as the lector to the Oxford Franciscans, and he was succeeded in this position by Roger Weseham, who would eventually serve as bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from 1245 to 1256.[82]

It is thus unsurprising that the contents of the pamphlets issued with synodal statutes and the statutes themselves show a remarkable commonality with the larger *summas* on confession. A comparison of a work such as Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum* to statutes and treatises reveals a substantial overlap between the two. Much of Thomas's *summa* reflects the concerns of the parish priest at the diocesan level. Indeed, as Morenzoni notes, Thomas would have been keenly aware of the needs of the priest as the subdean of Salisbury (he also served as vicar of Sturminster).[83] When discussing parents who kill their children, he adds that priests in churches should "command that their parishioners not have their little ones with them in bed" so as to avoid accidentally smothering them.[84] This same concern appears in various synodal statutes in which bishops command their priests to admonish their parishioners not to co-sleep with their infants lest they overlie them.[85] A work like Thomas's covers much more than confession, touching on most of the practical applications of the Church's teachings. It also deals with regularity in ordination and proper administration of the Eucharist, to include such matters as how to dispose of the elements if a spider falls into the chalice after consecration.[86] These same concerns appear in synodal statutes and their guidelines for how priests should administer the sacraments, especially in commands to avoid keeping the elements for longer than seven days lest the host putrify and to avoid letting the wine turn to vinegar.[87] So too do the both Thomas's *summa*

81 Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis*, 54–55.

82 Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam* (ed.) A.G. Little (Manchester: 1951), 48; M.J. Franklin, "Wesham, Roger of (*d.* 1257)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29066], accessed 17 September 2008.

83 Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 136.

84 "… prohibeat parochianis suis ne parvulos suos secum in uno lecto colligant," Chombham, *Summa confessorum*, 466.

85 See, for example, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1.,70, 136, 214, 235, etc.

86 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 138–39.

87 See *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 78–79, 143, 170–71, 184, 273, 345–46, 372, etc.

and synodal statutes (and conciliar decrees) explain what constitutes an irregularity of ordination.[88]

9.7 Teaching Methods of Pastoralia

Both these pamphlets and *summas*–even the older, more canonical *summas*–are teaching texts. *Summas* like Bartholomew's and Robert's as well as Thomas's circulated throughout the 13th and 14th centuries both in England and on the continent. These texts would all have been useful in training the priest in the principles of carrying out a confession. Even Bartholomew's, which is the closest to the older "tariffed" style, notes that oftentimes the priest will have to use his best judgement: "For when no certain penance for a crime is found in authentic writings then whatever sort of penance should be imposed should be estimated through the judgement of a prudent pastor on the basis of those penances already drawn up."[89] Thus the older canons are by no means "mechanical," but rather serve to hone the judgement of the parish priest. It is for such a reason that a work like Bartholomew's would circulate even as the Church increasingly left the assigning of penances up to the judgement of the confessor.

Robert of Flamborough's later work is one of canonical penances, but it is also a work designed to teach: much of it takes the form of a sample dialog of confessor and penitent, in which the confessor begins by asking if the penitent is truly contrite and then enquires of his or her matrimonial status. The dialogue then goes through what does and does not constitute a valid marriage before moving to the substance of the confession. In such a way, the work teaches both the practice of a confession as well as the basic canonical principles of the Church. The confession is obviously an idealized type for teaching, since most of the questions are those of the sort that would not be encountered by a simple curate.[90] The latter part of the text, extant in only certain manuscripts, lists penitential canons, primarily derived from Ivo of Chartres. These too are meant to teach a priest judgement, especially when he outlines

88 On irregularity because of illegitimacy or servile birth, for example, cf. *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 24–25, 60–61, 186–87, 228–29, 248, 373–74, 439, 456, vol. 2, 1000. See also Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 61, 66–68.

89 "Nam cum nulla certa penitentia pro aliquo delicto in scripturis reperitur autenticis, tunc per prudentis pastoris arbitrium ex iam constitutis peniteniis estimandum est qualis debeat imponi penitentia," Bartholomew of Exeter, *Penitentiale*, 203. He also notes in his discussion of lying that although all lies are clearly sin, the penance assigned for lies should be left to the judgement of the priest. Idem, 250.

90 Firth, prologue, 10–17.

those issues in which earlier canonists had allowed the commutation of certain penances.[91]

Thomas of Chobham's work is most clearly designed to teach someone how to administer a confession, and appears to be focused on parish priests as the audience. His work is meant to teach the priest basic judgement with respect to hearing a confession and assigning penances. The arbitrary nature of penance is important to Thomas, especially with respect to satisfaction for sin: penances based on irregularities should not be commuted, but penances based on satisfaction can be.[92] If the severity of the penitential canons seems harsh to the penitent, it should "always be mitigated so that the penitent is not turned to flight."[93] In addition, a priest needs to have the judgement necessary to know what penance might keep a penitent from confessing at all. Like Alan of Lille, Thomas argues that people of "today" cannot sustain the older penances, and so canons that punish the body are left to the discretion of the priest. Some priests, he notes, show a lack of good sense and assign a fast as penance for every sort of sin–even though for poor peasants all of life is a fast and fasting can damage the development of the brain in adolescents.[94] A priest, he says, needs to know the circumstances of a sin.[95] Thomas does not just explain that a priest needs judgement to conduct a confession; he also provides instructions on how to counsel a penitent.

Thomas sets out to teach a priest judgement by laying out cases to teach the priest how to think about the vices. So in discussing the sin of wrath, for example, he first notes how one should distinguish between anger that comes about through righteous zeal as opposed to anger from sinful wrath.[96] So too does he distinguish between when one can strike someone licitly and when striking someone is illicit. He also distinguishes between the sort of penances for wrath that does not result in a verbal outburst, wrath that results in verbal abuse, and speaking ill of someone in a way that harms their reputation. All wrath should be punished "with vigils, so that as reason is laid to rest in wrath, it might be revived in vigils." Wrath that results in verbal abuse should be punished with silence, and someone who in his wrath has damaged someone's reputation ought to make up for the damage to the person whose reputation was harmed.[97] As a man trained in the Parisian schools, distinction is an underlying principle of his work.

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91 Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis*, 275–76.

92 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 324–25.

93 Ibid., 325: " … semper mitiganda est ne absterreatur penitens ad fugam."

94 Ibid., 408.

95 Ibid., 45ff.

96 Ibid., 415–17.

97 Ibid., 418–19.

Smaller treatises on confession and synodal statutes of the 13th century covered the same bases as the *summas* for teaching a priest how to administer a confession and assign penances. These texts would explain which sins are reserved for the bishop and which can be heard by the priest. They would also require that a priest enquire as to whether a penitent is excommunicated, either by direct excommunication or *latae sententiae*. If there were no other complicating issues with the confession, the priest would enquire first if the person confessing was truly repentant and also on the circumstances of the sinner: this enquiry would often take the classic rhetorical formula of who, what, where, with whose help, why, how, and when.[98] The discussion of circumstance naturally entailed the penitent's status, most especially whether clergy or layperson and whether married or not.

Like larger *summas*, these texts would have the priest question the penitent on sins and would often use the capital vices or the Ten Commandments as a heuristic for this interrogation.[99] Shorter treatises would name the more prevalent of the sins that grew out of the capital vices, while a longer *summa* like Thomas's would go into more detail with examples and cases of each of the vices. Stavensby's treatise gives each of the capital vices as well as a few examples of what they can lead to: so in discussing envy, he explains how it can be the sorrow in another's good fortune, and under wrath he explains not only homicide, but also nursing one's anger.[100] Cantilupe notes that envy includes the detraction of others and that wrath can lead both to blasphemy and also to homicide.[101] Someone like Thomas, on the other hand, goes into much greater detail, to include the question of whether a peasant who gets angry and curses his animal is guilty of the sin of wrath (he is).[102] Both the *summa* and treatise provide the tools for even the most basic education of the priest: even a work as exhaustive as Thomas's *Summa confessorum* also lists the Ten Commandments together with an explanation of their significance.[103] On assigning penances for these sins, works reflecting an earlier tradition would generally have lists of penitential canons, while later works would often note

98 Cf. Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 48; *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 221–23, vol. 2, 1069–72; and Grosseteste, *Quoniam cogitatio*, 373–74.

99 Bartholomew of Exeter, *Penitentiale*, 204–05; Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis*, 62; Chobham, *Summa confessorum* 14–34; Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 9–10 and idem, *Quoniam cogitatio*, 378–81. Note that in *Templum Dei* Grosseteste outlines and explains the capital vices in terms of failure of charity.

100 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 216–17.

101 Ibid., vol. 2, 1067.

102 Chobham, *Summa confessorum,* 418.

103 Ibid., 27–31.

that penances are arbitrary, although the circumstances of the penitent should be "dilligently considered" in assigning penances.

The difference between *summas* and synodal statutes and shorter tracts is one of degree rather than of kind. In questioning the penitent on whether he or she is married, Stavensby's treatise has the priest question whether the person married, and if so, whether this marriage is valid.[104] Robert of Flamborough, by contrast, takes the question on matrimony to thoroughly explain the Church's canon law on what does and does not constitute a valid marriage; this discussion occupies the entire second book of his *summa*.[105] Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* has a schematic outline of a "special examination on matrimony," in which each impediment to marriage has a short description. So Grosseteste lists a religious vow as an impediment to matrimony saying, "If a solemn vow, it invalidates it, if private, it also impedes."[106] This description is short enough for a parish priest's purposes. Thomas of Chobham, by contrast, uses the scholastic technique of the *quaestio* in discussing differing opinions on when a vow serves as an impediment to matrimony.[107]

Where the treatises and statutes differ from *summas* is in detail. Synodal statutes will give the outlines of how to carry out the sacrament of the Eucharist, for example, while a *summa* will go into several different cases of how to consecrate, to include what to do when things go wrong. When Thomas outlines what a priest is to know, his explanation of the knowledge necessary for a priest takes up 113 printed pages in the modern edition.[108] A work like Grossteste's *Templum Dei*, by contrast, schematically outlines the priest's necessity for knowing the offices, computus, "the penitential canons, how to assign penances," and the homilies of Gregory the Great.[109] Thomas of Chobham opens with a discussion of the nature of penance and sin. After a discussion of sin and irregularity in canon law, the *summa* moves on to a guide to how to conduct a confession. It explains the types of penitents, who can hear a confession of a cleric, what to do with the confession of an excommunicate, and those cases reserved for the bishop.[110] The synodal statues of medieval England likewise open with an explanation of which cases are reserved

104 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 221. On the general treatment of matrimony and its impediments in confessional literature, see Payer, *Sex*, 147–48, 150–68.

105 Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis*, 63–98.

106 Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 26.3: "Si solempne est, dirimit; si priuatum, tantum impedit."

107 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 154–59.

108 The priest's required knowledge includes the theory and practice of all seven sacraments. Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 85–198.

109 Grosseteste, *Templum Dei,* 10.3.

110 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 211–18.

for a bishop (and also usually explain that the priest should also refer doubtful cases to the bishop).[111]

9.8 Teaching the Laity

As much as the writers of these works seek to educate the priest, these works also provide the tools and guidelines for each priest to provide laypeople an education in the basic moral principles of the Church. The most basic principle with respect to confession is to let laypeople know that it is necessary at all. The synodal statutes of 13th-century England are a nearly unified voice in requiring that clergy "frequently exhort" their parishioners to go to confession at least during Lent. Richard Poore requires that his priests admonish their parishioners to go to confession three times a year (which is more than his subdean Thomas, who is remarkably tolerant of laypeople putting off confession even of serious sins until Lent–another sign that Thomas is thinking realistically of the needs of the parish priest).[112] Thomas of Chobham notes that when a priest is hearing confession he should make sure that the penitent knows the basic principles of the Christian faith.[113] A penitent in confession, says Thomas, should receive a brief sermon on the necessity of confession and on the fact that mortal sin results in the Christian losing his or her salvation.[114]

Confession was often seen not just as a venue for teaching laypeople the Church's moral teachings, but also for teaching basic religious knowledge in general. *Summa*, tract, and synodal statutes would often require the priest to make sure that when the process of confession began, he should make sure that the penitent knew the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Hail Mary.[115]

So too were the laity to be taught the virtues and vices. "That there are seven criminal sins that are to be fled," says Alexander of Stavensby, "should be taught to every parishioner."[116] Richard Poore's statutes that he issued at Salisbury and later Durham require that the priest know the Ten Commandments and vices and virtues, which he is then to teach to his parishioners. Thomas of Chobham says that a confessor should enumerate the seven deadly sins to his penitents

111 See, for example, Richard Poore's Salisbury statutes of 1217 × 1219 and Richard Wich's Chichester statutes of 1245 × 1252. *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 71–72, 455.

112 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 72. Cf. Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 236–37.

113 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 242–44.

114 Ibid., 264–65.

115 Reeves, "Lateran IV to *Ignorantia sacerdotum*," 55–56.

116 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 214–15: "Dicatur omnibus parochianis … VII sunt criminialia peccata que fugere debetis,"

and exhort them to commit them to memory, so that they know spiritual sins.[117] Cantilupe says that the priest should enjoin on his parishioners that they know the Ten Commandments and that "there are seven criminal roots that [priests] should be accustomed to frequently explain to the people."[118]

These texts would also help a priest teach his parishioners that certain vices that laypeople do not think of as particularly grave are nevertheless mortal sins, particularly unmarried sex.[119] Cantilupe's and Grosseteste's synodal treatises mention fornication in their list of sexual sins.[120] Stavensby specifically notes that, "It is a mortal sin when an unmarried layman has sex with an unmarried laywoman," which indicates a belief on the part of laypeople that simple fornication is not particularly severe.[121] Synodal statutes also indicate that bishops found a laity relatively unconcerned with fornication to be a problem: they tell priests to frequently admonish their parishioners that unmarried sex is a sin (and for those who are already having sex to get married).[122] Thomas of Chobham goes into detail to argue that fornication is a mortal sin. People must be "diligently persuaded" that fornication is not a venial sin, but rather damnable.[123] His treatment of fornication opens with a *quaestio* on whether or not it is a mortal sin.[124] He concludes that it is, but the use of a *quaestio* indicates that he is training priests not just to be able to say that it is a sin, but to think about why it is a sin so that he might be better able to answer a parishioner asking why exactly it is wrong. Thomas also recognizes that of

117 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 327.

118 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, 1065: "Sunt autem radices septem criminalia, que frequenter exponi populo consueverunt,"

119 On the general treatment of literature of confession and fornication, see Payer, *Sex*, 101–25. In this essay, I am primarily covering simple fornication, i.e. an unmarried man and unmarried woman with no other attachments having sex. Most of the literature discussed in this essay went into much greater detail on sex between an unmarried man and a virgin (*stuprum*), sex between clergy and laity, sex of men with nuns, same-sex relations, and the like. Payer's *Sex* deals with the various permutations of the circumstances of sexual relations and how confessors were to deal with most possible cases.

120 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, 1068; Grosseteste, *Quoniam cogitatio*, 378, 380; Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 9.10. In other writings, Grosseteste is more urgent as to the need to convince laypeople that unmarried sex is a mortal sin. Payer, *Sex*, 119.

121 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 219: "… est mortale peccatum quando laicus solutus a matrimonio cognoscit solutam."

122 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 134, 1:188, etc. These prohibitions also included admonitions that those who were engaged were nonetheless to abstain from sexual relations until married. See, for example, Cantilupe's 1240 Worcester statutes, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 302.

123 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 344.

124 Ibid., 342.

the mortal sins, it comes from a God-given sex drive and so, if it is only "simple fornication," i.e. an unmarried man and unmarried woman having sex with each other, then it should receive a comparatively light penance, which is entirely up to the judgement of the priest.[125] This approach stands in marked contrast to that of Robert and Bartholomew.[126]

Fornication is not the only everyday sin that priests need to persuade laypeople is more than a minor infraction. Drunkenness is another vice that Thomas argues laypeople scarcely consider a sin, yet is actually damnable.[127] So too does Alexander Stavensby indicate that drunkenness is a mortal sin if undertaken with the intent of getting drunk.[128] Outside of the confessional, a common means of teaching the layperson both the nature of the virtues and vices as well as the necessity of confession was through preaching.

9.9 Teaching the Laity: Preaching

The synodal statutes of 13th-century England's bishops require parochial clergy to preach on sin and its remedies. Poore required that priests frequently preach that unmarried sex was a sin, as did Richard Wich.[129] Grosseteste required that the priests of his diocese frequently preach the Ten Commandments. This admonition is repeated in William Raleigh's Norwich statutes and William Bitton's statutes of Wells.[130] Pecham's 1281 *Ignorantia sacerdotum* required that priests preach quarterly on the vices and virtues as well as the articles of faith.[131]

Evidence for how often priests fulfilled these normative requirements to preach is more difficult to come by. We have thousands of extant manuscripts of the sermons of the mendicants, but much less evidence for preaching by secular clergy.[132] There is, however, some evidence of preaching material

125 Ibid., 344.

126 Broomfield, introduction, lxiv.

127 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 410.

128 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 220.

129 *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 72, 455.

130 Ibid., 345, 403, 610.

131 Ibid., vol. 2, 900.

132 The literature on preaching in the Middle Ages is vast. The best *accessus* to medieval preaching is still Jean Longère's *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: 1983). A more recent and detailed treatment of secular preaching in northwestern Europe (particularly in Paris) in the 12th and 13th centuries is found in Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole: la prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: 1998).

reaching even to the level of the parish. Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris from 1160 to 1196 drew up a collection of model sermons that secular clergy could either preach to laypeople or use to help draw up their own sermons. These sermons enjoyed a broad manuscript circulation in France and England over the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.[133] They were meant for secular clergy, and many manuscripts of his sermons show evidence of having been owned by parish priests. Of the extant manuscripts whose provenance can be traced to 13th-century England, two had collections of Maurice's sermons that had been in unbound quires before they had been bound up into a codex.[134] As unbound quires were the most common books kept by priests, it is highly likely that these two manuscripts at one time were held in a parish. Moreover, two codices contain both Maurice's sermons and synodal statutes, which serve as further evidence of parochial provenance.[135]

The content of these sermons shows a clear concern for inculcating the necessity of confession.[136] Often when Maurice–or the preacher using Maurice's sermons to construct his own sermon–preaches on a healing miracle in the Gospels, he ties this miracle in to the need for confession. So when Christ heals a leper, Maurice notes the miracle's significance: "The leprous man signifies sinners, and the leprosy, the sins." If the sinner cries out to Christ, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean," then like the leper he can be cleansed of mortal sin through confession.[137] In sermons on Christ's exorcisms, Maurice says that confession frees the Christian in a state of mortal sin from the devil.[138] Such sermons are most common in Lent (as is often the case with medieval preaching), but we read such exhortations in sermons preached during Trinity Time as well, as when Maurice's moral reading of Christ healing a deaf and

133 On Maurice de Sully's preaching, see Jean Longére, "Maurice de Sully: l'évêque de Paris (1160–1196), le prédicateur," in *Notre Dame de Paris. Une manifeste chrétien (1160–1230)* (ed.) Michel Lemoine (Turnhout: 2004), 27–68, esp. 45–68; and also Beata Spieralska, "Les sermons attribués à Maurice de Sully," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 51 (2007): 95–8. For a full discussion of the manuscript tradition of Maurice's sermons, see Jean Longère, *Les sermons Latins de Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris (†1196)* (Steenbrugis : 1988).

134 Reeves, "Lateran IV to *Ignorantia sacerdotum*," 113.

135 Ibid., 106.

136 Maurice's sermons in Latin are unedited. The translation of his sermons into Old French, however, is edited in C. A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily: With the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS* (Oxford: 1952), 75–194.

137 "Li liepreus senefie les peceors, e la liepre les peciés," Maurice de Sully, Second Sunday after Epiphany, "Cum descendisset Jesus de monte," Robson, *Maurice*, 91.

138 Idem., Second Sunday in Lent, "Secessit Jesus in partes Tyri et Sidonis," Third Sunday in Lent, "Erat Jesus eiciens demonium," Robson, *Maurice*, 100–2.

mute man compares the deaf and mute to those who refuse to go to confession.[139] In his sermon on how Christ raises a dead girl in Matthew 18–25, he explains that mortal sins such as fornication leave the soul dead and that the soul is revived through confession.[140]

Two other sets of extant homilies that may have been used by secular clergy are the Lambeth Homilies and Trinity Homilies, each set of which is named for the manuscript in which it appears.[141] These sets of homilies were both written in early Middle English near the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. The Trinity Homilies are in a dialect that places them in the East Midlands; the Lambeth Homilies, the West Midlands.[142] Like Maurice's sermons, they draw heavily on the moral theology current in the schools of 12th-century Europe.[143] Their Lenten homilies place a strong emphasis on confession. A sermon on the first Sunday in Lent from the Trinity Homilies, for example, emphasizes that one should turn from one's sins and confess one's guilt to a priest in spite of impediments to confession such as shame and fear.[144]

9.10 Gauging the Effectiveness of Teaching

Even in certain areas where priests failed to live up to the expectations of a reforming episcopate, the failure indicates a success of the ideal of regular confession. From the Gregorian Reform on, the Church as an institution had sought to ensure that all clergy above the rank of subdeacon were celibate, but parish priests were often unwilling to give up their wives and embrace celibacy.[145] Thomas of Chobham complains that priests would often hear the confessions of each other's wives (or concubines) and so they would thus escape the

139 Idem., 12th Sunday after Pentecost, "Exiens Jesus de finibus Tyri," Robson, *Maurice*, 151–53.

140 Idem., 23rd Sunday after Pentecost, "Loquente Jesu ad turbas," Robson, *Maurice*, 168–69.

141 On the Lambeth and Trinity Homilies, see Bella Millet, "The Pastoral Context of the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies," in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century* (ed.) Wendy Scase (Turnhout: 2008), 43–64.

142 Ibid., 44–5.

143 Ibid., 46–7.

144 Trinity Homilies, First Sunday of Lent, "Preocupemus faciem Domini," *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century: From the Unique MS B. 14. 52. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (ed.) R. Morris (London: 1873), 66–75.

145 Lawrence, "English Parish," 659–61.

penance required for fornication with clergy.[146] That priests were having their wives regularly take part in the sacrament of confession indicates that even if they did not fully comply with the episcopate's injunctions to give up their wives, they had internalized the need for all Christians to regularly make their confessions.

To what extent were laypeople successfully absorbing these doctrines? It can be hard to hear a lay voice in a sea of normative pronouncements. Sometimes, however, clerical objections to errors of laypeople can tell us something of what these laypeople were thinking about the doctrines to which they were exposed. What do these complaints tell us of the way that the 13th-century layperson would have understood the Church's doctrines and practices? We see a laity made up of people who generally grasped the doctrines associated with confession, but who may, at times, have contested these doctrines.

William de Montibus's *Errorum eliminatio* is largely a discussion of mistakes that occur in the liturgy, but it also incorporates a section on the "errors of the laity."[147] *Errorum eliminatio* circulated on its own, and its description of the errors of the laity was later incorporated into Richard of Wetheringsett's *Qui bene praesunt*, a *summa* for priests written between 1215 and 1220 to give them a basic command of Christian doctrine.[148] William's discussion of lay errors reflects a laity that understood the doctrines of sin and satisfaction, especially with respect to the role of alms. Most works of *pastoralia* make almsgiving a key part of satisfaction. Bartholomew and Thomas both laud them as one of the chief means of remission of sins that have been confessed.[149] William gives us evidence that laypeople understand the notion not just of the necessity of alms, but of alms as part of satisfaction. "They think," says William, "that those existing in mortal sin can merit by alms, which does not accord with the Apostle: without charity nothing merits eternal life."[150]

Rather than reflecting a laity that does not understand the doctrine of satisfaction, of a need to make up the moral debt incurred by sin, this error reflects laypeople who might not necessarily believe that they would need to

146 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 386.

147 *Errorum eliminatio* is edited in Goering, *William de Montibus*, 139–57.

148 On *Qui bene praesunt*, see Joseph Goering, "The *Summa* 'Qui bene presunt' and its Author," in *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages: Philological Studies in Honor of Siegfried Wenzel* (eds.) Richard G. Newhuaser and John A. Alford (New York: 1994), 143–59, 144–45. Joseph Goering and Greti Dunkova-Bruun are currently working on an edition of *QBP*.

149 Bartholomew of Exeter, *Penitentiale*, 164; Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 460.

150 "Putant existentem in mortali per elemosinas mereri, non secundum Apostolum: Sine caritate nihil sit meritorium uite eterne," William, *Errorum eliminatio*, 155.

go through the process of confession before carrying out works of satisfaction. People seeking to make up the debt incurred by sin without going through the process of confession and satisfaction may very well be the "perverse" laypeople who Thomas says believe they can attain salvation without the Church.[151] Such an attitude also appears in those whom William says believe God is better served by giving money to the poor than to opulent prelates: such an attitude again reflects an understanding of the close connection between generous almsgiving and the Christian faith.[152] Likewise, we know that bishops ordered their priests to exhort laypeople to marry their sexual partners. William says that laypeople believed that if one married one's partner, then there was no need for confession and absolution for the sex that one had before the marriage.[153] Such a belief would seem to indicate a clear internalization of the notion one should (eventually) marry one's sexual partner.

Other errors recorded by William indicate laypeople who generally understand the doctrines of confession but might nevertheless make errors about it. William says that people believe an excommunicated layperson brought back into the Church is absolved of all mortal sins.[154] This error reflects a clear understanding of the doctrine of binding and loosing, and even of the nature of excommunication and mortal sin: both cut the believer off from God, with the former also cutting the believer off from the Church and its sacraments.[155] This error shows that laypeople understood the consequences of mortal sin in that it removes a believer from a state of grace and separates him or her from God. These laypeople would assume that since absolving an excommunicate ends his or her separation from the body of Christ's Church, then it must also end the excommunicate's separation from God brought about by mortal sin. Such an error reflects an understanding, however faulty, of a fairly complex set of doctrines.

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151 Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 243. This incipient "anti-clericalism" probably has little to do with heresies such as those of the Cathars and Waldensians. In the 13th century, England and France north of the Loire saw little heterodox activity in comparison with the Midi. Reeves, "Lateran IV to *Ignorantia sacerdotum*," 74.

152 William, *Errorum eliminatio*, 155.

153 Ibid., 156.

154 Ibid.

155 In *Templum Dei* 7.3, Grosseteste explains the differences between excommunication that separates the Christian from the body of all Christian faithful, excommunication that separates the Christian from participation in the sacraments and entry into a church, and mortal sin, which separates the Christian from God, but not the from the earthly community of the Church.

William wrote *De erroribus* well before the reforming efforts of the 13th-century episcopate got underway, although his work remained in circulation for the next several centuries. *De erroribus* shows a laity that had a fairly keen understanding of the Church's doctrines on sexuality, on the giving of alms as satisfaction, and of the powers of the Church in binding and loosing. This inadequate (to William) but nevertheless impressive understanding of the Church's doctrines already appears at the start of the 13th century. With increased access on the part of priests to moral theology occurring in everything from a massive *summa* to a short tract, we can only assume that such knowledge on the part of the laity would have continued and increased through the 13th century and on into the later Middle Ages.

Indeed, by the middle of the 13th century, we see a laity both involved with and invested in their parish to a much greater extent than a simple uncomprehending participation in rituals. By the 13th century, we have regular lay participation in the maintenance of church fabric and the construction of the Church building. Laypeople would come to take what would become their traditional role in the provision of the nave and church ornaments over the course of the 13th century.[156] This often enthusiastic involvement with their parish church indicates laypeople that were not so much resistant to teachings of the Church, but rather sought participation in church life on their own terms.

Like most practices of the Church in its earthly pilgrimage, confession took place at the messy intersection of "is" and "ought." Prelates such as Pecham might have worried about the ignorance of priests driving the people into the ditch of error. But by the end of the 13th century, the parish priest, although by no means a university theologian, would have access to the means to teach both himself and his lay flock how to navigate the sacrament of confession. What mattered as to whether a parish priest was making use of the materials available to him would not be a matter of access so much as one of the individual priest's initiative to become a better moral theologian, counselor, and pastor.

156 See Carol Davidson Cragoe, "The Custom of the English Church: Parish Church Maintenance in England before 1300," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2010): 1–19.

CHAPTER 10

Reforming Priests and the Diverse Rhetorics of Ordination and Office from 1123–1418

C. Colt Anderson

10.1 Introduction

During the period from the First Lateran Council (1123) until the Council of Constance (1414–18), reformers debated who had the right to reform or correct the clergy. This debate took place in a context where the nature and meaning of ministry was being reconsidered in light of new movements of people seeking to live the *vita apostolica*. The growth in lay piety and forms of ministry expressed by groups like the early Friars Minor and the Beguines as well as the challenges to ecclesial authority by groups such as the Waldensians and the Cathars generated great interest in the meaning of ordination and priesthood. The popes of this period formally promoted a vision of reform advocated by Pope Gregory VII, which was shaped by his struggle with Emperor Henry IV over ecclesial investitures. The Gregorian Reformers moved away from the more collaborative approach advocated by figures such as Peter Damian and toward a position that limited the laity's ability to reform the Church.[1] This shift set off a series of conflicts with the members of the Church who felt there needed to be an outside check on ecclesiastical governance.

The debate over the relative authority, power, and autonomy of the ordained clergy in respect to the other orders of the Church centered upon the meaning of being an ordained officeholder. Since the stakes of this debate were high, the apologetics and polemics frequently moved to extreme, and indeed, apocalyptic positions. Most of the sources used to support the idea that ordination involves an ontological change come out of this period; yet it is also clear that these claims were vigorously contested.[2] The preoccupation with doctrinal

1 Peter Damian, for example, promoted the laity's duty to correct the clergy when they failed to uphold canon law. See Letter 40.109–114 in *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, (ed.) Kurt Reindel, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, vol. 1 (Munich: 1983), 501–503; C. Colt Anderson, "When Magisterium Becomes Imperium: St. Peter Damian on the Accountability of Bishops for Scandal" *Theological Studies*, 65 (2004): 741–766.

2 Peter Marshall, for example, claims that ordination came to be seen as entailing radical ontological change in *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford: 1994), 109. Of course, many of the other essays in this volume agree, more or less, with Marshall.

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theology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries distorted the historical picture because theologians focused almost exclusively on scholastic sources, papal bulls, and conciliar statements. Indeed, Yves Congar argued that the preoccupation of Catholic theologians with the essential, structural elements of the Church was itself an apologetic strategy to suppress criticism.[3]

Though much can be made of Thomas Aquinas' notion of character and its relationship to the powers of the soul, scholastic discussions of this sort were not commonly referenced by those who were attempting to implement or to oppose various reform initiatives.[4] Scholastic treatises concerning sacred character were responding to inherited and perceived anxieties over the sacramental ministrations of wicked or impure priests rather than addressing questions about metaphysical status. There is no evidence of medieval theologians claiming that ordination involved a substantial or essential change in the Middle Ages. Further, it is important to recognize that even the most "ontological" rhetoric concerning priesthood of this period also insisted that priests must live up to the functions of their office or be deposed. Being ordained did not necessarily imply holding an office; and, those who did not hold office could not exercise ministerial functions.

The primary concern of many of the reforming priests who presented the ordained as holding an elevated state was to establish the independence of the diocesan clergy. The canons of the First Lateran Council reflect this concern. The council forbade the monks from providing pastoral care outside of the monasteries.[5] It also ratified the Concordat of Worms, which took the right of investiture away from emperor and stipulated that bishops would be elected by their clergy.[6] Even so, the emperor could refuse to receive homage from them and thus held what John O'Malley has called "veto power" over the elections.[7] Though the canons of the First Lateran established important precedents in canon law restricting the influence of the laity and the monks or regulars, there continued to be struggles between the clergy and the other orders of the medieval church over the canons of this council. What emerges from looking at the rhetoric of these reforming priests is the tension generated by elevating the state of priests while simultaneously calling for their accountability.

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3 Yves M.-J. Congar, *Vraie et Fausse Réforme Dans L'Église* (Paris: 1950), 34–35.

4 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Suppl. 34–39.

5 First Lateran Council Canon 16, in Tanner 1.193. All of the citations in Latin and English are from Tanner's edition.

6 *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 188.

7 John O'Malley, *A History of the Popes: From Peter to the Present* (Lanham, MD: 2010), 117.

10.2 Institutional Innovation

The First Lateran Council's prohibition of monks involving themselves in pastoral care led to a period of incredible innovation and experimentation within the Church. The apologetics and polemics were particularly heated because reformers had to distinguish themselves from dissenting, schismatic, and heretical movements that were also pointing to the Church's shortcomings. Reforming priests had an advantage insofar as they operated within the ecclesial framework, except for the priests who were following new blended apostolic and monastic forms of life. They are interesting insofar as they had to respond to the charge of novelty by both monastic and diocesan critics. As we shall see, their defense was grounded in their usefulness.

Taken together, the various efforts by priestly and monastic reformers to defend the idea of progress gave the 12th century a remarkable openness to new ideas, movements, and orders. Gerhard Ladner, the great pioneer of reform studies, has pointed out how the presence of "vitalistic" metaphors related newness such as birth, rebirth, flowering, and spring characterized the language of reform for most of the 12th century.[8] One group of reforming priests that had to defend their way of life was the Regular or Augustinian Canons. Regular Canons were members of the diocesan clergy who voluntarily agreed to follow Augustine's Rule, but there were different communities that added elements to the rule such as the Premonstratensians who are also known as the Norbertines.[9] As Colin Morris has indicated, the Regular Canons played a significant role working for reform in almost every aspect of the Church's life.[10]

The Regular Canons had to craft an apologetic for novelty and progress in ecclesial institutions and ministries against the vested interests of the established order. A good example of this apologetic for progress shortly after the

8 Gerhard Ladner, "Terms and Ideas of Renewal," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (eds.) Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge: 1982; repr. Toronto: 1999), 2. See also Giles Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 38–41; Gerhard B. Ladner, "Erneuerung," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 6 (1966), 259–260. For recent evaluations of Ladner's work, see *Reassessing Reform: A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal*, (eds.) Christopher M. Bellitto and David Zachariah Flanagin (Washington, DC: 2012).

9 J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London 1950); *Canonicorum regularium sodalitates* (Vorau, Austria: 1954); Colin Morris, *Monastic Growth and Change: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: 1991); *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, (eds.) Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Turnhout: 2011).

10 Colin Morris, *Monastic Growth and Change*, 261.

First Lateran can be found in Anselm of Havelberg's *Apologetic Letter* written to a Benedictine monk around 1138:

> Further you complain about the term 'regular canon.' You say that it is a novelty and therefore contemptible, as if novelty need be contemptible. Anyone who understands syllogisms knows that this is itself a contemptible argument, for everything old was new at some time, and therefore is neither more nor less contemptible because it is new or was new. Nor is something more or less acceptable because it is or will be old, but rather it should be acceptable to all good people because it is good or useful whether it is old or new.[11]

While the term "regular canon" was new, Anselm argued that the model for blending the active and contemplative forms of life was the apostle Paul.[12] He claimed that the various types of regular canons were simply following Paul's exhortation in 1 Corinthians 4:16 "to be imitators of me." Citing Philippians 3:13, Anselm argued that Paul's contemplative dimension was what allowed him to forget "those things which are in the past" and to go forward "into those things of the future."[13] Anselm's portrait of the Church as a historical institution that can change challenged the ontologized understanding of hierarchy that was emerging with the renewed interest in the author who wrote under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.[14]

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11 Anselm of Havelberg, *Apologetic Letter,* in *Norbert and Early Norbertine Spirituality*, (eds.) and trans. Theodore J. Antry and Carol Neel (New York: 2007), 40. Hereafter cited as *Apologetic Letter*. The Latin edition is *Epistola apologetica*, in PL 188, 1122: "Causaris etiam hoc nomen regularis canonicus, et dicis illud esse novum, et ideo comtemptibile, quasi necessaria sit illa consequentia, si novum, tunc contemptibile; quod quidem contemptibile argumentum quam sit contemptibile, nulli, qui syllogistice loqui noverit, est incongnitum; equidem omne quod antiquitatem vel vetustatem suscepit, aliquando novum fuisse certissime constat, ideoque non quia novum est aut novum fuit, aliquid plus minusve est contemptibile; nec quia vetus est aut vetus erit, aliquid plus minusve est acceptabile: sed sive vetus sive novum sit aliquid, si tamen bonum est et utile, jure omnibus bonis debet esse acceptabile."

12 For more information see C. Colt Anderson, "St. Paul and Reform Rhetoric in the High Middle Ages," in *A Handbook on St. Paul*, (ed.) Steven Cartwright (Leiden: 2012), 325–348.

13 Anselm of Havelberg, *Apologetic Letter*, 55, PL 188, 1133: "… nempe apostolus, Paulus Doctor gentium in fide et veritate, qui secure ausus est dicere: 'Estote imitatores mei, sicut et ego Christi (1 Corinthians 4:16)*,'* interdum obliviscitur ea quae retro sunt, et in anteriora se extendens ad contemplandum Deo mente excedit…"

14 When possible, I avoid using "Pseudo Dionysius" because it can be offensive to Orthodox Christians insofar as it implies falsity and it calls to mind the pseudo prophets who are precursors of the Antichrist.

Perhaps the most famous Regular Canons of the 12th century were at the Abbey of St. Victor, which was founded just outside of Paris in 1108 by William of Champeaux. The students from St. Victor included Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard, whose *Libri Quatuor Sententiarum* became the standard textbook for the study of theology into the 16th century. Hugh's two most significant works, the *Didascalicon* and *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*, laid the ground for the program of study adopted by the medieval universities when they appeared in the 13th century.[15] The *Didascalicon* was a recasting of Augustine's basic insight that the study of the arts and sciences should prepare Christians for studying scripture; however, Hugh went much further than Augustine and found the knowledge of arts such as fabric making, commerce, agriculture, medicine and theatrics to be helpful for the preacher. Pastoral functions, such as preaching, guided the Victorines' efforts to reform clerical education.

Reforming the education of the clergy was also a priority at the Cathedral school in Paris. The masters at the Cathedral school were known for their interest in biblical studies and the application of those studies to the functional tasks of preaching on faith and morals.[16] Alan of Lille, who came to Paris first as a master in the late 1160s or early 1170s' offered this functional critique of the bishops in the late 12th century: "The prelates of our time seat themselves upon a throne before they are instructed beneath the birch: they don the robes of a master before they undertake the hard work of the student. They choose to be eminent, not to be useful; the reward of honor, not the burden of hard work."[17] This emphasis on education for forming the clergy for ministry influenced priests such as Stephen Langton, Jacques de Vitry, and the masters who would come to create the University of Paris.[18] The development of the university as an institution represents an important and enduring reform, though there is

15 Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*, in PL 176; *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge: 1951); *Hugonis de Sancto Victore. Didascalicon. De Studio Legendi*, (ed.) Henry Buttimer (Washington, DC: 1939); *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: 1961).

16 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952: repr. Notre Dame, IN: 1964), 196–200.

17 Alan of Lille, *Ars Predicandi* 38. The citation is from, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. G.R. Evans (Kalamazoo, MI: 1981). The Latin can be found in PL 210.

18 For more on Langton see *Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton*, (ed.) Phyllis B. Roberts (Toronto: 1980). This volume has a very helpful introduction and critical editions of several Langton sermons. A new English translation of De Vitry's Life of Mary of Oignies provides a helpful introduction and notes for further studies on De Vitry: *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation*, trans. Margot H. King and Hugh Feiss, (ed.) Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker

little evidence it had significant impact on the problems of simony, clerical incontinence, and worldliness.

Another response to the worldliness of the ordained clergy from the early 13th century can be found in the *Stella clericorum*, which was probably composed by a regular canon.[19] The *Stella clericorum* provides insight into ways that Gregorian reform propaganda simultaneously presented priesthood in ways that implied a different "ontological" status even as it argued for the removal of bad priests from their offices. The text opens comparing a priest to the morning star. He carries the light of knowledge within himself, brings the morning dew through preaching, and puts sin to death through his sacramental ministry.[20] After this praise, it lists a series of biblical and patristic sources that indicate a priest's worthiness is based on his usefulness. The *Stella clericorum* then cited John Chrysostom to show that while there are many who hold the title of priest, there are few who have the dignity of priesthood.[21]

Employing apocalyptic imagery, the *Stella clericorum* identified these useless priests as the people who would come in the last days as predicted by 2 Timothy 3:2. These are the people who only have love for themselves. The text used the *Gloss* to explain that this passage refers to the people who love worldly honor and money more than God's honor. The problem with corrupt priests is they do not realize that pastoral care is not given as an honor (*honori*) but as work (*oneri*).[22] The purpose of the *Stella clericorum*'s exaltation of priestly status was to exhort bishops to depose those who did not measure up to Gregorian standards of purity.[23] However, by the early 15th century the passages praising priests had been excerpted from the critiques and circulated independently in a tract entitled *De dignitate sacerdotum*.

(Turnhout: 2006). The best printed Latin edition is *Vita Mariae Oigniacensis*, in *Acta sanctorum*, vol. 25 (Brussels-Paris: 1867), 542–572.

19 *Stella clericorum*, (ed.) Eric H. Reiter (Toronto: 1997). The next several paragraphs are abbreviated from C. Colt Anderson, "Ritual Purity and Pastoral Reform in the Thirteenth Century," in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, (ed.) Ronald J. Stansbury (Leiden: 2010), 81–87.

20 *Stella clericorum* (1.5-1.13), 17. The opening commentary is based on this poem: "Lucis splendorem fert secum, fert quoque rorem; Ingens dat letum, vigilansque decens preit ipsum; Solem, defectum lune comitans, hyemisque; Tempore lucescit, cedens estate quiescit."

21 *Stella clericorum* (1.30–33), 18. The author's citation was actually from Pseudo-John Chrysostum, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* 43. The text is cited in Gratian, *Decretum*, D. 40 c.12. This text can be found in PG 56, 876.

22 *Stella clericorum* (1. 50), 19: "Cura enim animarum non debet {esse} honori sed oneri."

23 Ibid. (12. 22–27), 37. After citing Romans 2:21–2, the author concluded: "Hec omnia predicta prelatis committimus et ecclesiastice correctioni corrigenda."

Gregorian concerns over usefulness and purity are quite evident in the canons and decrees of the councils from the Second Lateran through the Council of Vienne. The establishment of schools for the formation and education of the clergy as well as the institution of standards of competency for the men being ordained are a recurring theme in the Third Lateran (1179) and Fourth Lateran Councils (1215).[24] Both the Third and Fourth Lateran prescribe stripping bishops of the power to confer benefices or offices if they chose unworthy men. The Third Lateran declared that such bishops should be deprived of their benefices, which was their source of income and authority, for three years; but the Fourth Lateran, with its emphasis on process, also empowered the provincial council to appoint a prudent and honest person to confer benefices. The Second, Third, and Fourth Lateran Councils all issued canons against simony for clergy and religious, clerical and monastic incontinence, and lay control and taxing power over churches.[25]

Finally, the Fourth Lateran marks the beginning of a period when the development of new forms of priestly ministry was formally forbidden. Canon 13 states: "Lest too great a variety of religious orders leads to grave confusion in God's church, we strictly forbid anyone henceforth to found a new religious order." The Second Council of Lyons reaffirmed the prohibition against new orders. Of the orders founded after the Fourth Lateran, only the Friars Minor and the Order of Preachers were allowed to continue to exist based on their usefulness to the universal church. Even their utility did not end the conflict with the secular clergy, who restricted their privileges for preaching, hearing confessions, and burying people in their cemeteries at the Council of Vienne (1311–1312).[26]

The various restrictions put into place by the canons of the Lateran Councils, Second Lyons, and the Council of Vienne created a difficult environment for the new Mendicant Orders that were critiquing clerical privilege. The primary focus of much of this rhetoric was on usefulness and the purity necessary for

24 See Canons 3 and 18 of the Third Lateran and canons 11 and 27 of the Fourth Lateran.

25 The canons against simony include: Canons 1 and 2 of the Second Lateran; canons 7 and 10 of the Third Lateran; and canons 63, 64, 65; and 66 from the Fourth Lateran. Canons against clerical and monastic incontinence are: Canons 6, 7, and 8 of the Second Lateran; canon 11 of the Third Lateran; and canon 14 from the Fourth Lateran. The canons excluding lay rights to churches or to taxing churches include the following: Canon 10 of the Second Lateran; Canon 19 of the Third Lateran; and Canons 25, 26, 44, and 46 of the Fourth Lateran.

26 The Council of Vienne also attempted to define the meaning of Franciscan poverty as allowing for the use of property without its ownership, which inflamed dissension with and among the Franciscans. See decree 38 in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, 400.

cultic service. This was particularly true for the Friars Minor who began as a lay movement of penitential preachers. The Franciscans and their opponents began to draw on several strands of apocalyptic thought from the 12th century that would lead to new ways of thinking about the Church.

10.3 Apocalypticism and Priestly Reform

As members of the clergy began to argue that the Church was unable to change, some reformers began to promote belief in an imminent Apocalypse that would be followed by a reordered church. These ideas were picked up by the priestly reform orders such as the Regular Canons and the Mendicant Orders. Both the reform rhetoric used by the Gregorian Reformers and the apocalyptic polemics of the monks eroded Augustine's approach to reading the Apocalypse, which rejected any reading of the Apocalypse of John or the book of Daniel that sought to divine information about current events.[27] However, Augustine's appropriation of Tychonius' final rule, which claimed that the Devil is the head of a body of impious people, naturally lent itself to the expectation that the Antichrist would appear within the Church.[28] Since Augustine had taught that sinful members make up a body of their own within the Church, the Gregorian Reformers began to identify their opponents as the Antichrist, as Antichrists, or as the precursors to the Antichrist.

A commonly cited example of this use of the Antichrist as a symbol for sinful clergy can be found in Pope Gregory VII's reform rhetoric. Exhorting the people of Milan to act against their unreformed clergy, Gregory VII wrote:

> Those who obtain churches by the gift of money must utterly forfeit them, so that no one for the future may be allowed to sell or buy them. Nor may those who are guilty of the crime of fornication celebrate masses or minister at the altar in lesser orders. We have further appointed that if they disregard our rulings, or rather those of the holy father, the people

27 Augustine, *De civitate dei*, 18.52–53. There is a new English translation available *The City of God Against the Pagans/Augustine,* ed. and trans. R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: 1998). The critical edition is Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, Corpus Christianorum Latinorum 47–48 (Turnhout: 1955). For more information see Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: 1979), 26–27. A significant source for McGinn was Robert A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge: 1970).

28 Augustine, *De doctrina* 3.37.55.

> may in no wise receive their ministration … And the prophet says, "Cursed be he who keeps his sword back from blood" – who fails, that is, to rebuke the carnal. We make this prelude because among the many evils which beset the world certain ministers of Satan and precursors of Antichrist in Lombardy are trying to overthrow the Christian faith and calling the wrath of God upon them.[29]

The pope's use of this rhetoric in the face of what seemed to be intractable problems such as simony led some of the reformers who followed him to claim that they were involved in a struggle with the Antichrist.

Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093 – 1169), a leader among the Regular Canons in southern Germany, claimed that the struggle over reform pointed to the imminent arrival of the Antichrist.[30] His provocative attacks on the Church benefice system engendered a great deal of opposition. Early in his career, Gerhoh had written that any priest who held a benefice was automatically excommunicated for taking to himself what was given for the benefit of all. He also argued that no one should be allowed to do pastoral ministry unless they lived an apostolic life, which meant accepting the evangelical counsel of poverty.[31] Gerhoh interpreted the conflict between the Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV as the fulfillment of the prophecy about the loosing of Satan in the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse. As a result, he believed that the conflict between Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa which lasted from 1159 until after his death, pointed to the imminent arrival of the Antichrist.[32]

While he gives no specific date, Gerhoh is but one instance of a new willingness in the 11th and 12th centuries to apply apocalyptic symbols to history and current events in a way that runs counter to the perspective handed down by Augustine.[33] With the growth of papal power, the idea of a papal Antichrist

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29 The English translation is from R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Toronto: 1994), 54–55. Moore found this in *Epistolae vagantes*, (ed.) H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford: 1972), 22–24.

30 Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist*, 122–125. McGinn's notes are an excellent resource for find primary and secondary sources.

31 Gerhoh, "Epistula ad Innocentium papam," in *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. Et XII.*, vol. 3, (eds.) Ernst Dümmler and Ernst Sackur, MGH (Hanover: 1897), 211: "Nam apostolica vita est illa libera, pro qua Christo coniungenda forma servi est ab illo accepta."

32 Gerhoh, "De quarta vigilia noctis," in MGH Libelli de lite, vol. 3, 503–525. Bernard McGinn has translated some of this material in *Visions of the End*, 104–107.

33 John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkley, CA: 1983); Robert Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after the Antichrist as a station of Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144.

began to emerge among reformers as they became distressed by the corruption in the papal court. The most important figure who influenced the development of apocalyptic reform rhetoric was the abbot Joachim of Fiore.

Bernard McGinn argues that Joachim was distinctive insofar as he did not base his reform on the life of the primitive church. Further, Joachim did not look to institutional reforms for the Church's betterment; instead, he envisioned a future age of the Holy Spirit ushering in a new exegetical method and a restructured church.[34] He applied the term *status* to each of three large blocks of time corresponding to one of the persons of the Trinity. The first *status*, the time of the Father, was that block of time beginning with Adam and lasting until Christ–when people lived according to the flesh. The second *status*, the time of the Son, began with Elisha the prophet and Josiah the king; but he calculated that it would last until approximately 1260. This period is partly carnal and partly spiritual. Finally, the time of the Holy Spirit would be the time when people would live according to the Spirit. Joachim claimed that this third *status* had two beginnings with Elisha and Benedict of Nursia, but that it would flourish around 1260.[35]

The spiritual church Joachim predicted would be ushered in by barefoot, preaching monks; and it would surpass the current Church in much the same way as the Church had surpassed the synagogue. Before this transition to a

34 Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist*, 136; C. Colt Anderson, *A Call to Piety: Bonaventure's Collations on the Six Days* (Quincy, IL: 2002), 27–29. The literature on Joachim is vast. Some important studies include: Herbert Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Fiore* (Leipzig: 1927; repr. 1966); A. Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium* (Munich: 1929); Ernst Benz, *Ecclesia Spiritualis* (Stuttgart, 1934); Morton W. Bloomfield, "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey of his Canon, Teaching, Sources, Biography, and Influence," 13 *Traditio* (1957): 249–311; M.D. Chenu, "Histoire et allegorie au douzième siècle," in *Festgabe Joseph Lortz*, vol. 2, *Glaube und Geschichte* (Baden-Baden: 1958), 64–71; Yves Congar, "Le sens de l'economie salutary dans la théologie de St. Thomas d'Aquin," in *Festgabe Joseph Lortz*, vol. 2, *Glaube und Geschichte* (Baden-Baden: 1958), 86–90; Henri de Lubac, *La posterite spirituelle de Joachim de Flore*, vol. 1 and 2 (Paris: 1978); Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Latter Middle Ages* (Oxford: 1969); Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: 1985); E. Randolph Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY: 1992), 72–88.

35 Joachim of Fiore, *Book of Concord*, 2.1.4. For several years there have been rumors about the preparation of a new critical edition of this text, but the only edition I have seen is *Liber de Concordie Novi ac Veteris Testamenti, Books 1–4*, Publication of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, (ed.) E Randolph Daniel (Philadelphia: 1983). There is a 1517 Venetian edition for book five of this text. There is a partial English translation in *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, trans. Bernard McGinn (New York: 1979), 120–134.

spiritual Church took place, he predicted that a "Beast ascending from the earth" who would be like "Simon Magus and like a universal pope" would be defeated by an angelic pope with the aid of the last world emperor.[36] Like Gerhoh, Joachim relativized the authority of the ordained by indicating that some of them were associates of the Antichrist; but Joachim's prophecies had much greater impact than Gerhoh's because they were promoted by the early Franciscans.

Salimbene testifies that many Franciscans had been interested in Joachim's work and had identified themselves with the spiritual men predicted by Joachim.[37] In 1254, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, a master at the University of Paris, published his *Eternal Gospel*, which contained a compilation of Joachim's works including the *Book of Concord*. Gerard's introduction, which is no longer extant, reportedly announced the beginning of the third status and had identified his *Eternal Gospel* as a third testament superseding the Old and New Testaments.[38] William of St. Amour seized upon the work as a weapon to be used against the Mendicants. He excerpted thirty-one suspect propositions and sent them to the pope with his own work, *Liber de antichristo*. Pope Alexander IV, who retained his office of protector of the Franciscan Order, directed the inquisitorial commission established by Innocent IV to condemn the *Eternal Gospel* without discrediting the Franciscans.[39]

The commission wrote a report known as the Protocols of Anagni, which took issue with the possibility of a time within history when the Church will be purified. The commission cites Augustine against Joachim's prediction of the purgation of the Church and universal peace during the third *status*.[40]

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36 The translation is from Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist*, 141–142.

37 Salimbene, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Joseph L. Baird (Binghamton, NY: 1986), 216–228. The critical edition is *Cronica*, (ed.) O. Holder-Egger (Hanover: 1903).

38 Heinrich Denifle, "Das Evangelium aeternum und die Commission zu Anagni," in *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchen Geschicte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1885), 62 and 68. This discussion of Gerard and of the commission is summarized from C. Colt Anderson, *A Call to Piety*, 19–29.

39 Dominic Monti, "Introduction," in *St. Bonaventure's Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order,* vol. 5, (ed.) George Marcil and trans. Dominic Monti (St. Bonaventure, NY: 1994), 28.

40 Heinrich Denifle, "Das Evangelium aeternum und die Commission zu Anagni," 105–106: "Ecce hic dicit ecclesiam purgandam ab universis zizaniis xlii generatione, de qua non supersunt modo nisi quinque anni, et tamen tunc non ponit seculum terminari, sed pocius adhuc restare totum tercium statum habiturum quinquaginta generationes, sicut probatum est supra. Contra hoc signandum est illud Augustini xl capitulo de fide ad Petrum ubi dicit: 'firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites, aream dei esse ecclesiam catholicam et intra eam usque in finem seculi frumento mixtam paleam contineri'."

This long-standing position was based on Christ's teaching that the wheat and the tares would remain together in the Church until Christ's return at the end of history. They concluded that it was not possible to know the times and challenged the very idea that one could know when the end is near. Though the commissioners labeled Joachim's theology as suspect and pernicious, it was not condemned. The result was that Augustine's more eschatological approach was declared normative as the more "suspect" approaches were allowed to continue to exist within the bounds of orthodoxy.

William of St. Amour, in turn, produced another apocalyptic attack on the friars reinforcing the idea that only members of the clergy can work to reform the Church. The *Tractatus de periculus*, which circulated in an early edition in 1255 before being published in its final form in 1256, was so popular and influential that it was still being printed almost four hundred years after its composition. The lasting appeal of the *Tractatus de periculis* is even more remarkable when one considers that its main thesis was condemned by Pope Alexander IV.[41] In this short tract, William built his ecclesiological critique of the friars on the authority of Dionysius the Areopagite.[42] Dionysius had identified the two orders in the Church. The first order is composed of the catechumens, the baptized, and the monks or the religious. This order, the *perficiendi*, is made up of those who are being perfected. Bishops, priests, and deacons make up the second order, the *perficientes*, or those who are perfecting.[43]

William argued that the hierarchical order is immutable and sacred because it is a reflection of the heavenly hierarchy. Ignoring the fact that many of the friars were priests, he counted them with the monks. This put the friars among

41 Edmond Faral, "Les 'Responsiones' De Guilliame De St. Amour," *Archives D'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* (1950–51), 362, 372–73. *The Dictionaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 6 (Paris: 1967), 1237–1238. *De periculus* went through three editions before William adapted it into six sermons, the first of which was delivered on the fourth of April 1256. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find an absolute date for the first edition, but it seems likely that it would have been completed in late summer or early fall. William had already employed much of the same rhetoric in his *Liber de Antichristo et ejus ministris*. In June of 1255, William organized a university vacation to protest the inclusion of the mendicants among their ranks. In September of the same year, he organized a university strike and it is likely that the first draft of *De periculus* was part of William's campaign to win support.

42 William of St. Amour would have seen this text as having been written by St. Paul's companion.

43 William of St. Amour, *De periculis* (Bierbaum edition), 12. The reference to Dionysius is from *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, 500c–509a and 529d–533a. See also Y. Congar, "Aspects Ecclésiologiques de la Querelle entre Mendiants et Séculiers," 58.

those who are being perfected. William then cited the Dionysian principle that inferior members of a hierarchy cannot exercise the duties of their superiors. Since preaching and administering the sacraments belong to the priests and bishops, as successors of the apostles and disciples, he concluded the friars, as regulars, could not validly engage in either activity.[44] Because this hierarchy is stable and divinely instituted, William argued the pope could not change the nature of it. Although his language about priesthood remained firmly grounded in the functional role of the clergy, he did "ontologize" the Church's hierarchical structure.

The efforts of William of St. Amour's disciples to attack the idea of evangelical poverty led the friars to formulate an apocalyptic polemic that would justify their existence and provide a response to their critics. Bonaventure gave a sermon in 1262 that is fairly representative of this rhetoric. He preached that Francis was like the angel ascending from the rising sun with the seal of the living God in Revelation 7:2. Francis was sealed in the form of the cross, according to Bonaventure, by the stigmata.[45] Francis' miraculous stigmata legitimated his authority to work for reform and to found an order. This link between miracles and authority was fairly common, and Bonaventure had employed the same strategy at the height of the initial outbreak of the Mendicant Controversy in a polemical sermon from 1255. Interpreting 2 Timothy 3:14, he preached: "Saint Paul exhorted Timothy to remain steadfast in what he had learned because he knew and was certain through signs and miracles that the teaching he had learned was for salvation."[46] In other words, the way to distinguish

44 William of St. Amour, *De periculis* (Constance edition), 120. This passage can also be found in the Bierbaum edition, 12–13.

45 Bonaventure, *Evening Sermon on Saint Francis: Preached at Paris: October 4 1262*, 718–730; Quaracchi edition, 585–590. This was a strategy he used in the *Major Legend* 13.9, which he was writing during this period. The dating of this sermon is based on its relationship to the *Major Legend*. See Ignatius Brady, "St. Bonaventure's Sermons on Saint Francis," *Franziskanische Studien* 58 (1976), 132–137. *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2, (eds.) Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short (New York: 2000), 510. All of the translations of Bonaventure's sermons on Francis are from this volume. The critical edition I am using for all of the sermons treated in this essay is *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*, vol. 9 (Quaracchi: 1901). Citations of the Latin from the critical edition will be indicated by Quaracchi edition followed by the page number.

46 Bonaventure, "The Morning Sermon on St. Francis, 1255," 513; Quaracchi edition, 592. For more detail about this sermon see C. Colt Anderson, "Polemical Preaching at the University of Paris: Bonaventure's Use of Paul as a Forerunner of Francis," in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came About through Words* (Leiden: 2012), 105–108.

between the false prophets of 2 Timothy 3:1–9 and true disciples was by the miracles associated with their teaching. Bonaventure said that Francis' preaching and mission were confirmed "by the signs that attended it (Mark 16:20)."[47] He neither predicted when the final Antichrist would come nor did he indicate who the Antichrist would be; however, some Franciscans came to predict when the final Antichrist would appear in response to the *Usus pauper* Controversy.

The *Usus pauper* Controversy began as an internal Franciscan question as to whether poor use was included in the vow to observe the Rule.[48] The significance of the controversy grew because it had implications for Pope Nicholas III's bull *Exiit qui seminat*, which involved the friars in a rapidly escalating struggle with the popes over papal authority for roughly fifty years. It also ushered in important changes in the rhetoric being employed because Peter Olivi began to give a papal Antichrist a central role in his expectations for the future.[49] Olivi began to believe that the only thing that could reform the institutional church was apocalyptic change. His prediction of a papal *Antichristus mysticus* who would heretically attack the truth of evangelical poverty around 1300 was compelling to many Franciscans. Ubertino de Casale, another Franciscan, identified Pope Boniface VIII as an Antichrist of tyranny (1294–1303) and Pope Benedict XI (1303–1304) as an Antichrist of hypocrisy.[50] By the end of the first decade of the 14th century, identifying the pope with an Antichrist was becoming a common element for reformers; but it was the English priest, John Wyclif (1324–1384), who introduced an important innovation in apocalyptic reform rhetoric.

What was novel about Wyclif was his identification of the Antichrist with the papal office itself. Drawing upon Augustine's idea that the Devil also has a corporate body within the Church, Wyclif believed that all the popes together made up the corporal body of the Antichrist. He saw the papacy of Innocent III, with its definition of transubstantiation and the creation of the Mendicant Orders, as the sign that Satan had been loosed from bondage (Apocalypse 20:7).[51] Whereas the pope was Gog, he collectively labeled the friars and other

47 Bonaventure, "The Morning Sermon on St. Francis, 1255," 513; Quaracchi edition, 592.

48 The best studies on this subject are David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the "Usus Pauper" Controversy* (Philadelphia: 1989); David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia: 1993).

49 Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist*, 160.

50 Angelo Clareno, *The Tree of Life of the Crucified Jesus* 5.8. See Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist*, 164.

51 John Wyclif, *De apostia* in *Wyclif's Latin Works*, (ed.) Michael Henry Dziewicki (London: 1889), 204. See Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist*, 181–182.

papal supporters as Magog.[52] His apocalyptic attacks on the friars echoed the works of William of St. Amour's; however, he went much further in his critique of the papacy than William would have ever considered. Rather than arguing that individual papal officeholders can be Antichrists who should be removed from office, Wyclif's argument aimed at undermining the papal office completely. While his theology may indicate some form of ontological change for those who become bishop of Rome, his position was atypical and does not generally correspond to contemporary discussions around ordination. Nonetheless, Wyclif's theology marks a point where the influence of apocalyptic reform rhetoric began to shape the polemics surrounding the reform of church and state relations.

10.4 Ecclesio-Political Reform

There were three questions that preoccupied the priests who were ecclesio-political reformers: the first was whether secular rulers had power over the pope, the second was whether the pope had power over secular rulers; and the third was whether the pope's authority over the rest of the clergy was absolute. Prior to the 13th century, Pope Gelasius' doctrine that the priests and the kings both receive their authority from God in separate spheres of life was the norm. Gelasius' teaching, which was incorporated into Gratian's *Decretum*, maintained that priests or bishops should obey kings in secular matters and that kings should obey priests in matters pertaining to salvation.[53] The Gelasian doctrine had no ontological implications; but the positions that the popes had absolute authority over both the spiritual and the secular realms advanced by Innocent III and Boniface VIII did have such implications. There were even canonists who claimed that the popes had more authority than the scriptures, which led many reformers to consider the relative authority of scripture, of the Church, and of the papacy.[54]

52 John Wyclif, *De apostia*, 77–78.

53 Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* (New Haven: 1964), 38. Gelasius' statement can be found in Gratian, *Decretum* D. 96, c. 10. For Gratian's view, see *Decretum* C.2, qu. 7, c 41: "Notandum est, quod duae sunt personae quibus mundus iste regitur, regalis videlicet et sacerdotalis. Sicut reges praesunt in causis saeculi, ita sacerdotes in causis Dei. Regum est corporalem inrogare penam, sacerdotum spiritualem inferre vindictam."

54 The issue of the authority of scripture and extra-scriptural sources was central to many of the disputes between various reformers in the period we are covering; and, as a result, there have been many studies on this subject. Ian Levy has recent article that contains a

Innocent III's claims to both temporal and spiritual power can be found in his *Sermones de diversis*. Speaking about his power, he said:

> Yet who am I, or what is my father's house, that I may be seated more eminently than kings, and occupy the throne of glory? For to me it is said in the Prophet (Jeremiah), 'I have constituted you over nations and kingdoms, that you may root up and destroy, lay waste and scatter, and that you may build and plant (Jeremiah 1:10).' To me also it is said as to the Apostle (Peter), 'To you I will give the keys to the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound also in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth, will be loosed also in heaven (Matthew 16:19).' When he (Jesus) spoke to all the apostles, he said in particular, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins you retain, they are retained (John 20:23).' When, on the other hand, he spoke to Peter alone, he said universally, 'Whatever you bind on earth will be bound also in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed also in heaven (Matthew 16:19),' because Peter can bind the others, but he cannot be bound by others.[55]

He continued by pointing out that Peter alone received the fullness of power and that as vicar of Christ he was less than God, but greater than man.[56]

Papal claims to the power to establish and to depose rulers created intense antagonism between the European monarchs and the popes of this period. The popes who followed Innocent did not have the coercive power necessary to compel the kings or emperors to bend to their will because they did not have the advantage of being the regent for the emperor. By claiming power that they objectively did not have, they undermined their authority.[57] The problem came to a head in a dispute over taxes between Boniface VIII and the French king, Philip IV.

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helpful review of the scholarship: "Flexible Conceptions of Scriptural and Extra-Scriptural Authority among Franciscan Theologians around the Time of Ockham," *Franciscan Studies*, vol. 69 (2011): 285–341.

55 Innocent III, *On the Consecration of the Supreme Pontiff*, in *Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*, trans. By Corinne J. Vause and Frank C. Gardiner (Washington, DC: 2004), 23. This is sermon 2 in PL 217.

56 Innocent III, *On the Consecration of the Supreme Pontiff*, 24.

57 C. Colt Anderson, *The Great Catholic Reformers: From Gregory the Great to Dorothy Day* (New York: 2007), 106. The discussion of Boniface's struggle is based on my treatment in this volume.

King Philip had decided to tax the clergy in order to raise money for his conflict with England. When war broke out in 1294, neither Philip IV of France nor Edward I of England was willing to accept the idea that the clergy could not be taxed without papal permission.[58] Boniface responded with the bull *Clericis laicos* in February of 1296, which threatened to excommunicate rulers who taxed the clergy without papal consent. Four years later, Boniface released *Ausculta fili* stating that "God has set popes over kings" and demanding Philip's submission. Philip ignored him, so Boniface issued, *Unam Sanctum*, which included the following points:

> We are taught by the words of the Gospel that in this Church and in her power there are two swords, a spiritual one and the temporal one … But the one is exercised for the Church, the other by the Church, the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of the kings and soldiers, though at the will and the sufferance of the priest. One sword ought to be under the other and the temporal authority subject to the spiritual power.[59]

In response, Philip sent a band of mercenaries to capture or kill Boniface. The French mercenaries captured Boniface in Anagni on September 7, 1303; however, Boniface was able to escape with the aid of the citizens of Anagni. A few weeks later Boniface died.

In the midst of this struggle between Boniface and Philip, Giles of Rome (1247–1316) served the pope as an advisor. He advanced new arguments for the superiority of the Church over the secular lords in his treatise *On Ecclesiastical Power*.[60] His main point was to argue for a type of papal monarchy that completely subordinated the secular rulers. In the process he also argued that it was never appropriate for the laity to criticize the clergy:

> … perfection or sanctity or spirituality is of two kinds: the one is personal, the other according to status. Thus the status of the clergy is more perfect than the status of laity, and that of rulers than that of subjects; but if we

58 Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: 1979), 37. I am generally following Oakley's assessment of the issue surrounding Boniface's career. See also Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050–1300* (New York: 1964; repr.,Toronto: 1988), 172–192; Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, CT: 1980), 146–147; Bernard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (New York: 1992), 195–197.

59 Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State*, 188–189.

60 R.W. Dyson, "Introduction," in *Giles of Rome's On Ecclesiastical Power: A Medieval Theory of World Government* (New York: 2004), xix.

> speak of personal perfection, there are many laity who are holier and more spiritual than clerics, and many subjects who are more so than rulers … But if we speak of perfection or spirituality according to status, and especially according to the status of prelates, which consists in jurisdiction and fullness of power, then he who occupies the holier and higher status will judge more things and will not be able to be judged by his inferiors; for as the Apostle says at I Corinthians 4, 'He who judges me is the Lord.' Thus, he who occupies the status which is entirely supreme and entirely holy is that spiritual man who, according to his power and jurisdiction, judges all things, because he is lord of all things, and is himself judged by no one, because no mortal is his ruler.[61]

In the case of the pope however, he argued that since he holds the holiest status, it is fitting, reasonable, and probable that he is personally spiritual and holy as well. Citing Gregory VII, he concluded that the Roman See "either receives a saint or makes a saint."[62] Perhaps his most novel argument was that since the Church has neither spot nor blemish, it cannot be disordered and therefore is clearly superior to all other institutions.[63] Giles and other papal apologists, such as James of Viterbo (1255–1308), went so far as to assert the pope's absolute power over temporal goods.[64] While these positions are not explicit affirmations of an ontological change, they do blur the distinction between the office and the officeholder.

Responding to papal apologists like Giles, John of Paris, a Dominican, argued for a more balanced Gelasian approach to the relationship between the Church and the state. John portrayed both spiritual and secular power as being independently instituted by God. Although he recognized that spiritual power served a higher mission, he denied that the higher mission of the Church gave it any direct power over either temporal affairs or goods.[65] Further, John made the case that popes should be removed from office if they were guilty of crimes

61 *Giles of Rome's On Ecclesiastical Power*, 26–27.

62 Ibid., 11.

63 Ibid., 26: "… et quodipsa Ecclesia quam sibi elegit Deus non habentem maculam neque rugam, non sit bene ordinate…"

64 Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 41. There is a new critical edition of James of Viterbo's contribution to the polemics surrounding Boniface VIII's struggle with Philip IV: *De regimine Christiano: A Critical Edition and Translation*, (ed.) R.W. Dyson (Leiden: 2009). There is an older edition, *De regimine christiano*. in *Le plus ancient traité de l'église. Jacques de Viterbo, De Regimine Christiano (1301–1302)*, (ed.) H.X. Arquillière (Paris: 1926), 83–310.

65 Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 41.

or heresy. For John the pope's status did not lift him above law and judgement. If the pope refused to step down, he claimed that the ruler could take steps to force his resignation.[66] Indeed, John maintained that a scandalous pope could be judged by anyone.[67] Of course, the same would be true of the lower members of the ordained hierarchy as well. Francis Oakley has indicated that this line of reasoning found cognate expressions in the theology of William of Ockham and in the polemics of the Conciliarists.[68]

Like John of Paris, Ockham held that the pope could be deposed for notorious crimes, scandal or heresy. He also maintained that if the clergy fail to depose a notoriously incorrigible pope, it was the duty of the emperor to depose him. Further, if the emperor was unable to remove such a pope from office, then members of the congregation of the faithful should at least attempt to detain him or prohibit him from exercising his office.[69] In response to the claim that an inferior member of the hierarchy cannot judge a superior member, Ockham argued that a heretical pope could be judged because his adherence to heresy makes him inferior to any orthodox Catholic.[70]

The Great Schism made the question of what to do with a heretical or criminal pope critically important. The debates had significant implications for the meaning of ordination and as to whether the ordained can be held accountable for their actions by the laity. The Great Schism began when French cardinals, who were unhappy with Pope Urban VI (1378–1389), elected Cardinal Robert of Geneva to be pope. Robert, as Pope Clement VII, established his residence in Avignon. The arguments advanced by John of Paris or William of

66 Ian Levy, "John Wyclif on Papal Election, Correction, and Deposition," 170–171. See also Janet Coleman, "A Dominican Political Theory of John of Paris in its Context," in *Church and Sovereignty,* ed. Wood, 187–223. John of Paris: *De potestate regia et papali*, vol. 6, (ed.) Jean Leclercq (Paris: 1942), 185–89.

67 John of Paris: *De potestate regia et papali*, 211–216.

68 Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 58. Oakley provided the following examples: William of Ockham, *Octo questions de potestate Papae* in *Guilielmi de Ockham opera politica*, vol. 1, (ed.) J.G. Sikes (Manchester: 1940), 74–76. Jean Gerson, *De unitate ecclesiastica*, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, (ed.) Louis Ellies Dupin (Antwerp: 1706), 114; Dietrich of Niem, *De modi uniendi et reformandi ecclesiam*, in *Dietrich von Niem Dialog über Union und Reform der Kirche*, (ed.) H. Heimpel (Leipzig and Berlin: 1933), 74–76.

69 Ian Levy, "John Wyclif on Papal Election, Correction, and Deposition," 173. Ockham, *Octo quaestiones de potestate papae* 3.12 in *Guillemi de Ockham Opera politica,* ed. J.G. Sikes et al., 3 vols. (Manchester: 1940), 1:116–24. See also Tierney, *Ockham, The Conciliar Theory, and the Canonists*, 26–27.

70 Brian Tierney, *Ockham, The Conciliar Theory, and the Canonists* (Philadelphia: 1971), 14–24. See also Ian Levy, "John Wyclif on Papal Election, Correction, and Deposition," 165.

Ockham for lay leaders to resolve such problems continued to have strong support throughout the crisis; however, the fact that the secular rulers were almost equally divided between the two popes made it practically impossible for them to resolve the problem. These events forced theologians to reconsider the nature of church governance and produced the Conciliar Movement. Perhaps the most famous members of this movement are Pierre d'Ailly and his protégé Jean Gerson.

From late 1408 through the early 1410, Jean Gerson crystalized the lines of thought that justified conciliar action in response to the Great Schism. The positions he developed in this short period of time would eventually be incorporated into the decrees of the Council of Pisa (1409) and the Council of Constance (1414–1418). The goal of the ecclesiastical hierarchy is, according to Gerson, to establish internal peace and union by modeling its order and activity on the angelic hierarchies. Just as the angels hold offices for the purpose of ministering or serving those below them, so too the clergy must recognize that their authority was given for service to others. He declared unequivocally: "God has given no status, no degree of dignity, no ministry of any kind except in order to serve the common benefit of all."[71]

Nonetheless, Gerson was opposed to anything that would infringe upon the rights of the diocesan clergy. He was opposed to the Mendicant Orders and his polemic against the Mendicants may have drawn on William of St. Amour's attack on the friars.[72] Gerson claimed that the Church's hierarchical order existed in its perfection from its beginning. This order is stable and permanent and reflects the order of the angelic hierarchy. He argued that Pope Alexander should not have given the friars the right to preach and to hear confessions because it disrupted the nature of the Church and undermined the office of the bishops.[73] Like William of St. Amour, Gerson tended to ontologize the Church's structures; however, Gerson recognized the pope as the head of the hierarchy.[74] Out of his arguments against the Mendicants, he came to the position that the ordained diocesan clergy essentially constitute the Church.[75]

71 Jean Gerson, *De auferibilitate sponsi ad Ecclesia*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, (ed.) Glorieux, vol. 3 (Paris: 1962), 300. The translation is from Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 163.

72 For Gerson's place in the history of this controversy see Yves Congar, "Aspects Ecclésiologiques de la Querelle entre Mendiants et Séculiers dans la Seconde Moitié du XIIIe Siècle et le Début du XIVe," *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et litteraire du moyen age*, vol. 27–28 (1961): 35–151.

73 Louis Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, 41. Jean Gerson, *Quomodo stabit regnum*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 7, 980–983.

74 Jean Gerson, *Quomodo stabit regnum*, 981.

75 Louis Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, 32.

Though Gerson claimed that an ordained clergyman who is a notorious sinner should be treated with respect by the laity as a result of his hierarchical status, he also claimed that such priests should be deposed for their failure to perform the functions associated with ordination.[76]

Gerson's defense of clerical and episcopal rights appealed to the bishops. With their support he was able to attack the various decretals or statements in canon law that had made it impossible to resolve the schism. He argued that the turmoil in the Church was the result of a failure to distinguish between three types of law: divine, natural, and positive.[77] Divine law, which obviously has the highest authority, is revealed in scripture. Divine law has love, peace, and unity as its goal. Natural law is revealed through nature, aims at love, and cannot be contradicted. Positive law, however, is imperfect because it is written to address particular circumstances and thus can never be universalized.[78]

Since the laws stating that only the pope can call a council and that the pope cannot be judged by anyone were both aspects of positive law, Gerson argued that both legal claims had to be subordinated to divine and natural law. Because the office of the papacy is aimed at building unity, he concluded that papal prerogatives in positive law could not prevent extraordinary measures aimed at ending the schism. Starting from the premise that the Church was perfectly instituted by Christ, Gerson claimed it must have the capacity to resolve issues like the Great Schism.[79] Whereas it was not normally legal for a council to be convoked without the consent of the pope and for it to judge a pope, these provisions of canon law could change in extraordinary circumstances like the Great Schism by applying the principle of Aristotelian principle of epikeia.[80] Gerson concluded that the Church must prefer the commands of God to human laws.[81]

There were two attempts to solve the papal schism by means of a council. The first attempt, at Pisa in 1409, managed to make the situation worse by creating a third papacy; but the second, at Constance, ended the schism. The Council of Constance is remarkable in several other ways as well. The fourth session of the council declared:

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76 Jean Gerson, *Quomodo stabit regnum*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 991. For a discussion of his ecclesiology see Louis Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, 155.

77 For more analysis see Louis Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, 58–76.

78 Jean Gerson, *De unitate Ecclesiae*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, 143–144.

79 Jean Gerson, *Libellus articulorum contra Petrum de Luna* in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, 266.

80 Jean Gerson, *De auferibilitate sponsi ab Ecclesia*, 301. The translation is from Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, 163.

81 Jean Gerson, *De unitate Ecclesiae* in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, 143–144. See also Louis Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, 72.

> First, that this synod, legitimately assembled in the Holy Spirit, constituting a general council, representing the catholic church militant, has power immediately from Christ, and that everyone of whatever state or dignity, even papal, is bound to obey it in those matters which pertain to the faith and the eradication of the said schism.[82]

While this implies everyone has the same ontological status, regardless of states and dignities, the Council of Constance went further by allowing representatives from the laity, from the monastic orders, and from the universities to vote. This development is largely due to the work of Pierre D'Ailly.

D'Ailly started with the conviction that all authority is principally derived from God, but that in a functional manner authority comes from the community. As the Vicars of Christ the popes principally receive their authority from God, but in a ministerial manner their authority comes from the community; by way of contrast, general councils principally receive their authority from God, but in a representative manner their authority comes from the consent of all the faithful. D'Ailly could still affirm that the pope had the plenitude of power in a ministerial manner, but this power was given for the mission or purpose of preserving the Church. Since the purpose of the pope's jurisdictional power was to serve the universal Church, D'Ailly argued that the universal Church could exercise its power over the pope by means of a council that is representative of the entire Church.[83]

D'Ailly had a very different understanding of who should be represented at a council than Gerson. As Francis Oakley has indicated, William of Ockham's argument that the bishop of Rome should be elected by the Roman community was a significant source for D'Ailly's thought.[84] He argued that the practice of the earlier councils of only allowing bishops to vote was based on the fact that they were elected by their communities, which was no longer the case. Addressing the assembly at Constance, he maintained that no Catholic can be excluded from the council and that the nobility should be summoned to participate.[85] On the basis of the principle that "what touches all, should be

82 Tanner 1.408.

83 Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre D'Ailly*, 62–63.

84 Ibid., 141–42.

85 Ibid., 149–150. Pierre D'Ailly, *Oratio de Officio Imperatoris* in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, (ed.) Louis Ellies Dupin (Antwerp: 1706), 921. Dupin's edition is Jean Gerson's *Opera*, but he included Pierre D'Ailly's works and others. There are several editions that have varying pagination. There is a reprint of a 1490 edition of Pierre D'Ailly's works from Strassburg, *Tractatus et sermons* (Frankfurt: 1971).

approved by all," he argued that all of the orders of the Church should be able to vote including representatives of the doctors of theology, law, and canon law. Since theologians in particular had the authority to preach anywhere, he said they had greater authority than that of a "single, ignorant, and merely titular, bishop or abbot."[86]

The Council of Constance organized itself into nations with representatives from the universities, monastic orders, nobility, and clergy working together to solve the pressing problem of the schism as well as matters related to doctrine. Every representative had a vote within their nation, and each nation had one vote at the council, which may have been influenced by the governance structure of the University of Paris. The reformers at Constance envisioned the relationship between the clergy and the laity and between the papacy and the rest of the Church rejected the Gregorian reform agenda as it had been articulated by Innocent III, Boniface VIII, and Giles of Rome; however, the tradition of the Gregorian Reformers that the laity should be excluded from any role in church governance would become increasingly dominant after the Protestant Reformation.

10.5 Conclusion

What do we learn from looking at the rhetoric of reforming priests between the First Lateran and the Council of Constance? To begin, we learn that there was not a monolithic understanding of the nature of priesthood or ordination. Though there were some who advanced extraordinary claims concerning the status of the ordained in general and of the pope in particular, historical exigencies such as the Great Schism proved them to be untenable. Constance judged and deposed popes for failing to serve their ministerial function, which proved that the Vicar of Christ was not above humanity by virtue of his office. Moreover, if the head of the hierarchy is subject to divine, natural, and positive law, then all of the lower officeholders are as well. Further, the Gregorian Reformers' efforts to establish the complete independence of the ordained clergy from oversight by the laity were rejected at Constance, though their positions would be revived over the following decades.

The advocates for reform called for priests and bishops who failed to fulfill the duties of their office to be deposed, which has important implications for

86 Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre D'Ailly*, 153–154. H. von der Hardt, *Rerum concilii oecumenici Constantiensis*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: 1697), 225–26.

how they understood ordination. Because the ordained had to hold a benefice or office in order to exercise their ministerial powers, deposed priests and bishops lost the powers and the authority associated with their offices. While some and perhaps most of the clergy would have accepted the idea that there is an indelible mark that came with the sacrament of holy orders, this position would not be defined as a doctrine until 21 years later at the Council of Florence in response to the Armenians. Trent reaffirmed this doctrine in 1563 and anathematized anyone who maintained a priest could become a layperson. Even so, the only aspect of a man's ordination that would remain after being deposed would be the sacred character or the indelible mark. In this sense, it was analogous to the baptized layperson who had been excommunicated. Both would have been marked indelibly, and both would lose their rights and privileges.

Looking at the rhetoric of reformers and their opponents provide reasons to be cautious about speaking of ordination in terms of ontological change. The medieval theologians and canonists that promoted the idea that the ordained held a special status above other human beings did so to deny the clergy's accountability to the rest of the Church, to claim exemption from civil laws, and to assert unqualified power over society. The advocates for an ontological understanding of priesthood in the Catholic Church today are reacting against the Second Vatican Council's promotion of the idea of the priesthood of all believers. Like their medieval forerunners, the proponents of an ontological understanding of priesthood aim to exclude the laity from ecclesial ministry and governance. Clerical exceptionalism was one of the primary factors that led to the ongoing scandal within the Catholic Church over sexual abuse and it continues to generate conflicts and polarization. Further, the imprecision of speaking about ontological change has led to a theology of priesthood that is impious at best as can be seen in this statement, which is posted on the Vatican website, from Cardinal John O'Connor:

> In my judgement, this concept of the ontological nature of the priesthood, is critical. We don't just put on vestments; we don't just receive an assignment. Neither makes us priests. We become priests at ordination. There is an 'ontological change' in our spiritual nature. Such is a profound mystery. Is it too bold an analogy to compare the change to Christ the Son of God's retaining His Divinity while becoming a man? Or to observe that after bread becomes the Sacred Body of Christ, it still tastes like bread and feels like bread, but is now the Body of Christ? There has been an ontological change. A cup of wine still smells like wine and tastes like it,

> but it is now the Blood of Christ. At ordination an ontological change takes place.[87]

The idea that every priest has had his human, spiritual nature transubstantiated goes much further than anything Pope Innocent III or Giles of Rome claimed on behalf of the clergy. Since priests already share a human nature with Christ, it begs the question of what their transubstantiated nature is.

The history of reform, however, challenges the idea that our emphasis should be on invisible, indelible marks or promoting the idea that ordination involves ontological change. This is not to deny that something really happens at ordination; but what happens neither exempts the clergy from accountability nor permits them to lord themselves over their people. Instead, the ordained should be an example of what it means to come as one who serves. O'Connor's interpretation of what ontological change means lacks any precedent from the medieval period; and, to paraphrase the *Stella clericorum*, it obscures the fact that priesthood is not given as an honor (*honori*) but as work (*oneri*).

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87 John Cardinal O'Connor, "The Necessity for the Ongoing Formation for the Priest." *The Holy See*. Published June 18, 1996 and accessed May 9, 2015. <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc_con_cclergy_doc_18061996_intr_en.html>.

CHAPTER 11

The Radical Renewal of Pastoral Care in the Italian Communes, 1150–1250: Prelates, Secular Clergy, and the Mendicant Orders

Michael F. Cusato, O.F.M.

11.1 Introduction

The history of pastoral care and of priestly ministry, in particular, pivots on two inter-related questions: the development of the ecclesial structures which constitute the framework for living the Christian life in a given region; and the definition of the purpose and content of priestly ministry to the people of God within those same structures. This essay will concentrate fairly exclusively on the second issue of priestly ministry, namely the general contours and practical methods of the *cura animarum*, especially in the cities of northern and central Italy, during the first half of the 13th century.

It is axiomatic to state that the Gregorian Reform laid the foundations for a genuine reform of the upper levels of church governance. Yet it could not, for all that, keep pace with the sweeping social changes engendered by the forces of the Agricultural and Commercial Revolutions, which saw the revival of lay life and activity in the newly reinvigorated cities of northern and central Italy. Indeed, the gap between theory and practice in terms of church life or, more specifically, between the moral reform of the clergy and the reinvigoration of their ministry in line with the needs of the people (for whom the older forms of church piety no longer pertained or were inadequate) now became increasingly evident. This lack of connection between clergy and congregants was seen most markedly in the alarming and accelerating upsurge of anti-clerical sentiments among groups like the Patarini, as ordinary men and women perceived significant and scandalous gaps between the message of the gospels and the behaviour of its spokesmen, often tainted with charges of simony. And the attraction of a growing number of Christians to various heretical ideas and movements–like the dualistic notions of the Cathars now coursing through regions connected once again by improved roads with an increased mobility of people and ideas–showed how the spiritual strivings of a re-energized laity, claiming

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its rightful place in church and society, were not being met or even addressed by its ordained and consecrated ministers.[1]

11.2 A Significant Turning Point in the Reinvigoration of Church Life: Lateran III (1179)

Thus, by the mid-12th century, as Christians began looking beyond the structures of the Church for answers to their seeking and yearning, the Church came to realize that it was generally being unresponsive to the spiritual needs of the people of God. This lack of responsiveness would change rather dramatically by the time of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 with its numerous canons addressing specific pastoral concerns and issues. However, the antecedents for these changes were beginning to be traced out already in the last quarter of the previous century, most notably during the Third Lateran Council of 1179. This council, unjustly neglected in many of the grand surveys of medieval conciliar history, started to address–albeit in a somewhat superficial manner–the fact that parishes were failing in their primary purpose of providing nourishment for ordinary Christian men and women.[2]

The very fact that the council turned its attention to parishes at all is by itself significant. For it is indicative of the particular focus of the energies of the hierarchy that the very entity of the parish–what we have called the fundamental

1 On the problem of the Patarini, see *La Pataria: lotte religiose e sociali nella Milano dell'XI secolo*, (ed.) Paolo Golinelli (Novara: 1984); and Bernard Hamilton, "Introduction," in *Hugh Eteriano*, *Contra Patarenos*, (eds.) Janet Hamilton, Sarah Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton, The Medieval Mediterranean 55 (Leiden: 2004), 1–110. The Cathar heresy has received extraordinary attention from historians of all persuasions. For a comprehensive overview, see, among others, Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: 1998); Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualistic Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harrow: 2000); and Pilar Jiménez-Sanchez, *Les catharismes: modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval* (*XIIe-XIIIe siècles*) (Rennes: 2008).

2 For an overview of the Council's work, one can consult the two classic, though general, treatments: Augustin Fliche, Raymonde Foreville et Jean Rousset, *Du premier concile du Latran à l'avènement d'Innocent III* (*1123–1198*) *2ème partie*, Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours 9 (Paris: 1953); and Raymonde Foreville, *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV: 1123, 1139, 1179 et 1215*, Histoire des conciles oécuméniques 6 (Paris: 2007), 134–58; and, for a treatment of some specific issues at the Council, see*: Le troisième Concile de Latran* (*1179*)*: sa place dans l'histoire*, (ed.) Jean Longère (Paris: 1982). The canons of the Council (with correlative English translations) can be found in: Tanner 1.211-25.

structure of church life–had received no separate treatment whatsoever at all in the *Decretum* of Gratian (1139–1150), the *summa* of canonical legislation drafted in the wake of the great transformations in the Church as a result of the Gregorian Reform. And yet, equally significant is the fact that, by 1190, a separate exposition on parishes–*De parchoiis et aliis parochianis*–will have found its way into Book III of the *Decretales*.[3] In other words, within a span of fifty years, something significant will have occurred in the life of the Church in order to place the parish community and its minister closer to the center of Christian reflection. That change is mirrored in the canons of Lateran III.

We can summarize the achievement of the council on the matter of parish life under two rubrics. The first concerns what we might call the parish as an institutional entity: the visible extension of the mission of the local bishop in his cathedral church. One such canon (8) states that a local parish community, in the absence of a priest (due to death or removal or promotion), must be assured of the presence of a local minister within no longer than six months from the time of its vacancy[4] and that he not only be ordained but that he possess a "title" to the place (canon 5: that is, a benefice)[5]–and only one benefice (canon 14)[6]–thus assuring that he will be on-site and functioning in the midst of his people. Another requires that he be no younger than 25 years of age to assure his spiritual maturity (canon 3)[7] and that he will have received a basic knowledge of his duties through a rudimentary education at a school established at the bishop's cathedral with its own beneficed *scholasticus* (canon 18).[8] It is further mandated that he will be visited by his bishop or one of his representatives (i.e., archpriest, archdeacon or dean of the diocese) at least once a year and without unduly burdensome costs of procuration (canon 4).[9] On a somewhat different note, another canon (9) states that parishes entrusted to religious communities (i.e., to groups of Canons Regular or monastic orders) will be served by communities of religious (rather than by individual secular priests) so as to assure both services to the faithful and the integrity of their religious life.[10]

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3 *Decretales* III, 3 comp. 3, 22. Cf. Joseph d'Avril, "L'encadrement diocésain et l'organisation paroissiale," in *Le troisième Concile de Latran (1179),* 53–74, here at 54–55; and Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," in *Histoire des curés* (Paris: 2002), 77.

4 Tanner, 1. 215.

5 Ibid., 1.214.

6 Ibid., 1.218–219.

7 Ibid., 1.212.

8 Ibid., 1.220.

9 Ibid., 1.213–4.

10 Ibid., 1.215–7.

A second set of canons deals more obliquely with the dynamics of pastoral ministry–that which will be more exclusively the achievement of the Fourth Lateran Council. For example, a cleric is ordered to always live honourably and chastely lest he be deprived of his benefice (canon 11),[11] for fear that his immoral behaviour adversely affect the spiritual life of his parishioners. Another canon (23)[12] mandates that those excluded from the community due to the scourge of leprosy be provided for materially as well as spiritually (with their own priest and church).[13] Finally, the corrective tool of excommunication must not be used punitively by bishops but pastorally (canon 6), keeping in mind that such sentences are intended as medicinal remedies, leading their subjects to genuine repentance.[14]

By some measure, the achievement of Lateran III in terms of pastoral ministry may seem rather meagre when compared to its successor gathering in 1215. This may well be the case since its content on these matters was primarily the result of the attempt of the council to simply correct abuses rather than launch an ambitious and sweeping program of ecclesial reform. And yet, the fact that the council *does* begin to acknowledge the existence of parish life as an essential part of the Church's mission in the world is representative of a larger conversation occurring within the wider culture, particularly at the newly-emerging schools in revitalizing cities like Paris, Orléans, Toulouse and Bologna. Here, a profound transformation of thought was in the process of developing about the very nature of the human person and the role of intentionality in decision-making and moral behaviour.[15] This more humanist approach to the complexity of the human person will eventually have profound ramifications on the notion and content of pastoral ministry (especially with respect to preaching and confession) in the next century. But, for the moment, these intellectual developments, which were being generated simultaneous to the deliberations of Lateran III, testify to a new and more nuanced

11 Ibid., 1.217.

12 Ibid., 1.222-3.

13 On this topic, see Joseph Avril, "Le IIIe Concile du Latran et les communautés de lépreux," *Revue mabillon* 60 (1981): 21–76; and Joseph Avril, "La pastorale des malades et des mourants aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in *Death in the Middle Ages,* (eds.) Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia. Series I, Subsidia 9 (Louvain: 1983), 88–106.

14 Tanner, 1.214.

15 Cf., Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "Les méthodes de la pastorale du XIIe au XVe siècle," in *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters*, (ed.) Albert Zimmermann, Miscellanea Mediaevalia 7 (Berlin: 1970), 78; Pierre-Marie Chenu, "Nature and Man: The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," in idem, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: 1968), 1–48.

understanding of the human person and his or her place in the economy of salvation.

Particularly representative of this new approach to the salvation of the individual human person are three theologians who were associated with the canons of the cathedral school of Notre-Dame of Paris and who wrote as teachers in this school. The first to mention is Peter Lombard (d. 1160), whose most important work for future generations was his *Libri quattuor sententiarum* (*Four Books of Sentences*), which, combining the practice of *cantilae* compilation of ancient authorities with the dialectical method of Peter Abelard, placed the essential matters of salvation–Trinity, creation, salvation, sacraments and eschatology–explicitly within the framework of the journey of faith.[16] Of special significance in the work of the Lombard, for later reflection, will be the stress that he placed upon the sacraments–numbered by him as seven–which function as the prime means of grace for the believer on the path to salvation. A second contributor to this new way of thinking about the Christian life and its mysteries is the less well-known writer, Raoul l'Ardent (d. c. 1210), whose *summa* on vices and virtues contributed important ideas on the content of moral behaviour among church leaders and the faithful alike.[17] A final representative figure is Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) who wrote, among other treatises, an important work titled *Summa de sacramentis et aliis consiliis*,[18] which offered an explanation and exploration of the content and meaning of the sacraments. This work will have a crucial influence upon priests since it will provide an excellent summary for non-theologians; but it will also be formative of parishioners as they will now be taught by these same ministers the role and meaning of the sacraments in their life of faith.

Finally, we must also add to these writings a growing body of legislation arising out of the annual provincial synods mandated by Lateran III, as prelates, around the turn of the century, particularly in England, began taking account of the innovative ideas coming out of the schools and the new, if general, emphasis of the recent council concerning the integrity of Christian life in the parishes. We will return to these statutes in the second half of this essay.

These developments–which ought to be seen as the late-blooming fruit of the efforts of the Gregorian Reform but more immediately of the shift in theological reflection on the importance of the human person and the role

16 *Magistri Petri Lombardi Parisiensis episcopi Sententiae in* IV *libris distinctae*, 3rd. ed., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4–5 (Grottaferrata: 1971–1981); and, in Engl. trans.: Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, 4 vols, trans. Giulio Silano (Toronto: 2007–10).

17 The *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* of Raoul l'Ardent remains unedited.

18 The treatise of Peter the Chanter, *Summa de sacramentis et aliis consiliis* is likewise unedited.

of the sacraments in the journey of salvation–all reach a point of convergence by the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century so as to effect a change in the ministry of prelates and their assistants in the parishes and beyond. These were the factors that prepared the way for a genuine revolution in the notion of pastoral care which burst onto the scene during one of the most pastoral councils in the history of the Church: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

11.3 The Revolution in Pastoral Care: The Achievement of Lateran IV (1215)

The culmination of the evolution of the Church's understanding of the content of pastoral ministry underway in the latter half of the 12th century comes to be articulated in a series of important canons related to this subject at Lateran IV.[19] This seminal council–in addition to its multi-faceted achievement in other domains–is uniquely responsible for creating the foundation of the modern parish in terms of, on the one hand, the relationship between pastor and faithful and, on the other hand, between the pastor and his bishop. Generally stated, the pastor is no longer seen merely as a passive administrator or channel of the sacred to the people of God by means of the sacraments. Now, rather, he is urged to become a more engaged and pro-active minister whose role is to guide (that is, pastor) the souls entrusted to his care; instruct them in the rudiments of the faith and morality; and sanctify them by mediating the sacraments to them. This ministry is referred to by the council, specifically, as the *cura animarum* (or even the *ars artium*): aware of the critical importance of the priest's active involvement in the spiritual lives of the faithful over whom and for whom he has the *cura*. Indeed, he is not only *minister* but *curatus*. To appreciate the magnitude of this change in the Church's understanding and the program of reform that the council sets forth for future implementation, we need to examine more closely the revolution in its concept of pastoral care.

But before entering into the specific content of these canons, it might be helpful to lay out a working definition of what we mean by the term "pastoral ministry." The description offered by Pierre Michaud-Quantin is particularly germane: pastoral care is the totality of means by which the members of the clergy, who have been charged with this task, endeavor to guide the faithful

19 The canons of Lateran IV, both in Latin and English, can conveniently be found in Tanner, 1.230-71. Astonishingly, there is no definitive monograph on this landmark Council. But see Raymonde Foreville, *Lateran I, II, III and IV,* 245–320.

entrusted to them–as a general rule, the inhabitants of a given territory–in order to assure the eternal salvation of their souls.[20]

The priest owes his charge of the *cura animarum* to his bishop who, alone, has the power to entrust him with this charge. Certain conditions regarding the priest–viz., legitimate birth, minimum age, reputable moral character, working knowledge of Latin and chant, etc. to conduct the liturgy–are once again enunciated (§11), so as to ensure that a given pastor has met the minimum requirements to serve as a minister among the people. In ordination, the bishop grants him the power of jurisdiction (that is, the power to bind and loose).[21] But ordination alone does not grant him the capacity to exercise that power. Rather, that capacity is given by assigning that person to a beneficed pastorate in a specific parish (cf. §29 and §32).[22] Barring extraordinary circumstances (e.g., removal for cause or promotion to a higher office, etc.), he is the sole pastor of this church for the rest of his natural life. These pronouncements mostly restate the decrees of the previous council but with greater force and clarity.

Second, related to this last aspect, the local minister is defined specifically (§21)[23] as the *proprius sacerdos* of each member of his parish community. By this designation, each priest is tied to the members of his flock by a juridical bond that constitutes the foundational element of church life: all other pastoral duties and Christian obligations will flow from this.[24] He is the one who has been sent (*missus*) by his bishop in the place of Christ.

Furthermore, the use of evocative typologies drawn from the Scriptures to describe the various roles of the local pastor will signal the recognition by the council of his crucial importance in the life of the Church. Using biblical imagery, he is, like Christ the Good Shepherd, a *pastor* who guides his flock, staff in hand, with sack (for his upkeep), horn (to capture attention of the sheep), and accompanied by a leashed dog (the means of correction and protection at his

20 Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "Les méthodes de la pastorale du XIIe au XVe siècle," 76–91, here at 76.

21 Tanner, 1.240.

22 Ibid., 1.248–250.

23 Ibid., 1.245.

24 Cf. Joseph Avril, "A propos du '*proprius sacerdos*': quelques réflexions sur les pouvoir du prêtre de paroisse," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, (eds.) Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington, Monumenta Iuris Canonici. Series C: Subsidia (Vatican City: 1980), 471–86; idem, "Quelques aspects de l'institution paroissiale après le IVe Concile du Latran," in *Crises et réformes dans l'Église de la réforme grégorienne à la préréforme* (Paris: 1991), 93–106.

command). But he is also the bride of Christ the Bridegroom, representing the loving union of Christ and his Church, etc.[25]

More specifically, according to the canons of Lateran IV, this pastor has two primary functions or duties. The first is the administration of the sacraments, the means of grace connecting the Christian follower to Christ. Therefore, he is the primary minister of baptism (to whom even those who have already been baptized *in extremis* ought to report for confirmation); he is the arbiter of legitimate marriage bans and the witness of marriages (ceremonies that were becoming increasingly public as well as sacred events); and finally, he is the anointer of the sick and dying with the oil of extreme unction and the gift of holy viaticum (signaled more and more by public and ritualized processions).[26] But the overriding emphasis in the descriptions of the sacramental role of the priest in the Middle Ages was placed on the two other remaining sacraments in his ministry: Eucharist and penance.[27]

Canon 21 expresses the importance and place of both sacraments in the life of the faithful:

> All the faithful of both sexes shall, after they have reached the age of reason, faithfully confess all their sins at least once a year to their own [parish] priest and perform to the best of their ability the penance imposed, receiving reverently, at least at Easter, the sacrament of the Eucharist, unless perchance, upon the advice of their own [parish] priest (*proprius sacerdos*), they may for a good reason abstain for a time from its reception; otherwise ... But if anyone for a good reason should wish to confess his sins to another priest, let him first seek and obtain permission from his own [parish] priest, since otherwise he [the other priest] cannot loose or bind that person.[28]

This is the famous *Omnis utriusque sexus* canon mandating the Easter duty of confession and communion, at the very least, once a year and preferably around Easter.[29] This is not only a matter of establishing an annual obligation.

25 Cf. Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," 90–1.

26 Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," 80–1.

27 The administration of the sacrament of holy orders was, of course, reserved to the college of bishops.

28 Tanner, 1.245.

29 This actually represents a scaled back version of the canon of Lateran III in which communion was enjoined upon the faithful three times annually: at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. On this canon, see the works of Pierre-Marie Gy: "Le canon 21 de Latran IV et la pratique de la confession et de la communion au XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des antiquaires* (1995): 338–43; "Le précepte de la confession annuelle et la

It is, rather, a serious injunction to involve the Christian person in the life of grace available to him or her for the sanctification of one's soul. But the canon also reveals the close nexus between the sacraments of penance and Eucharist in the life of the Church: namely, that participation in the former sacrament (penance) ought to normally precede (because it prepares the penitent for) his or her welcome to the celebration of the latter (Eucharist). Purification precedes and conditions sanctification. Or, put another way: Eucharist completes the purification and reintegration into the Christian community set in motion by sincere confession.

This important linkage of the two sacraments sets the stage for the rich pastoral exploration of the dynamics of confession that will ensue in the years after the council, as we shall see shortly. This expansion of understanding will be prompted by the use of a completely new tone given to the moment of confession expressed in the latter half of this same canon 21:

> Let the priest be discreet and careful in order that he may pour wine and oil into the wounds of the one injured after the manner of a skilled physician, carefully inquiring into the circumstances of the sinner and the sin, from the nature of which he may understand what kind of advice to give and what remedy to apply, making use of different experiments to heal the one who is sick ...[30]

This is wonderfully pastoral language and imagery, highlighting a new understanding of the relationship between a humanized priest and a human penitent: a relationship that is likened to a solicitous doctor intent upon healing and a suffering patient desirous of remedy. These are indeed revolutionary changes in the concept of pastoral care.

Connected to the celebration of the sacraments, and the Eucharist in particular, is an array of other responsibilities which the priest must attend to relative to the celebration of the liturgy in his parish. For example, the pastor is responsible for the weekly Eucharistic liturgy every Sunday and the celebration of the calendar of feasts (both those celebrated throughout the whole church and those particular to the diocese and parish); this–constituted

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nécessité de la confession," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 63 (1979): 529–47; "Le précepte de la confession annuelle (Latran IV, c. 21) et la détection des hérétiques," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 58 (1974): 444–50; and finally, "Les définitions de la confession après le quatrième Concile du Lateran," in *L'aveu: Antiquité et Moyen Age*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 88 (Rome: 1986), 283–96.

30 Tanner, 1.245.

approximately 50–60 additional liturgies that were obligatory for the faithful. He was, moreover, also responsible for any number of ceremonies of blessing and, as noted before, those for the care of the sick, the dying and the burial of the dead.[31]

The second major area of pastoral ministry entrusted to the parish priest concerns the instruction of the faithful. Again, we witness a kind of quantum leap in the conciliar legislation regarding the importance accorded to the education of the Christian community in the basic elements of Catholic belief. First and foremost in the mind of the council is the matter of preaching. This is addressed in another frequently-cited text of the council–canon 10:

> Among other things that pertain to the salvation of the Christian people, the food of the word of God is above all necessary, because as the body is nourished by material food, so is the soul nourished by spiritual food since 'not by bread alone does the human person live, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God' (Mt 4:4). It often happens that bishops, on account of their manifold duties or bodily infirmities, or because of hostile invasions or other reasons, to say nothing of lack of learning . . . are themselves unable to minister the word of God to the people, especially in large and widespread dioceses. Wherefore we decree that bishops provide suitable men [*viros idoneos*], powerful in work and word, to exercise with fruitful result the office of preaching ... instruct[ing] them by word and example.[32]

The canon then goes on to describe the place of these individuals within the larger structure of the Church:

> Wherefore we command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable men [*viros idoneos*] be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants [*coadiutores et cooperatores*], not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls ...[33]

It is a commonplace to point out the gross insufficiencies of most clergy during the Middle Ages in the parishes of Western and Central Europe, due to a

31 Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," 81.

32 Tanner, 1.239–40.

33 Ibid., 1.240.

centuries-long lack of (or sporadic) attention on the part of the episcopacy. The first step towards the rectification of this woeful situation, as we have seen, was canon 18 of Lateran III instructing bishops to establish at least one school in his diocese–at his own cathedral–in order to attend to the rudimentary (and free) instruction of future priests, especially those who were poor and could not afford an education in the schools.[34] But this was apparently not done with any dispatch or comprehensiveness. As the famous observation of the reformed canon-become-bishop, Jacques de Vitry, would have it: the clergy who had been tasked to preach to the people of God were no better than "dumb dogs who don't know how to bark."[35]

Hence: the urgency of canon 10 for the health and solidity of the Church in this age where heretical ideas were afloat, especially in southern France and northern Italy. But Innocent III could not wait for the process to get underway: the earlier conciliar canon to establish local schools now had to be reiterated again in 1215. But he and the council fathers went further, mandating that bishops seek out "suitable men," powerful in word and deed, whose training already made them eligible to be of immediate service in the ministry of preaching and its adjunct ministries. Indeed, this help was imperative if the Church was to withstand the confusion and uncertainty engulfing it in the first decades of the 13th century.

The lack of training among the clerics was thus having a direct and deleterious effect upon the level of instruction being received (or not) by parishioners in their parishes. This urgency set in motion a series of activities which gives us a concrete idea of what the revolution in the concept of pastoral ministry would soon look like in the decades following the council. A summary of these activities would be instructive.

First, parish clergy were urged to give instruction to their people particularly within the context of the Eucharistic liturgy, that is, when they had the most direct and comprehensive contact with the souls entrusted to their care. Typically, there were two possible moments of such instruction. The first occurred after the reading of the epistle and gospel. Here, the priest generally commented on the literal meaning of the texts that had just been read; but having been proclaimed in Latin, they naturally required mediation–explanation –in the vernacular of the people. Second, after the prayers of the faithful but

34 Ibid., 1.220.

35 Jacques de Vitry, "Lettre I," in *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry. Édition critique*, (ed.) R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden: 1960), 76. Engl. trans. in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 1, (eds.) Regis A. Armstrong, J. Hammond and J.A. Wayne Hellmann (New York: 1999), 580 [hereafter as FA: ED]. Jacques was referencing Isaiah 56:10.

before entering into the offertory, the celebrant had another moment when he could instruct the congregation. Here, he was freer to comment on any variety of matters. For example, he could preview the upcoming liturgical celebrations of the next week, explaining their meaning and purpose; or dwell on the gestures and rituals of the celebration of Mass, drawing out their significance in the overall context of the life of faith. Or, he could comment on the content of the various prayers of the Church which all baptized persons were expected to know (in Latin), such as the Our Father, the Hail Mary, or even elements of the Creed. Or again, he could use the time, if he himself had the requisite knowledge, to explain the meaning of the seven sacraments.[36] All of this constituted a catechesis generally unknown in previous centuries which now was supposed to become the standard content of the faith-formation of ordinary Christians.

Second, as to the priests themselves, this catechetical content was already being aided to some degree, as we have seen, by works such as Peter the Chanter's treatise on the sacraments or Peter Lombard's *Verbum abbreviatum*[37] –the latter being a kind of mini-sourcebook for priests regarding the fundamentals of the faith and the Scriptures. Indeed, one of the primary aims of the convocation of local synods–according to the Lateran Council, to be held once a year (§6)[38]–was not only to model the rituals of the liturgy for the clergy (that is, how they were to be done properly); but also to instruct the priests on the rudiments of the faith so that they, in turn, could go back to their own people and do the same.[39] For, more often than not, these prospective catechists needed, themselves, to be catechized!

This was the great revolution in the understanding of the meaning of pastoral care–the *cura animarum* and all of its attendant activities–which the Fourth Lateran Council laid out for the Church, especially through its priestly ministers. The content was there in the canons. Whether it would actually be acted upon and realized by the local clergy was another matter–one which is often difficult to discern given the paucity of such information available in surviving documents. Synodal records do indicate, however, that such issues continued to be addressed and encouraged (particularly in those which come down to us

36 Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "La méthode pastorale," 85; and Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," 84–5.

37 Peter Lombard, *Verbum abbreviatum* [*adbreviatum*], ed. Monique Boutry, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 196A-B (Turnhout: 2012). See also Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," 96.

38 Tanner, 1.236-7.

39 Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," 96.

from France and England), implying that they were probably not being implemented with any alacrity or fervor.

But the greater story is how what Lateran IV set in motion came to be taken up, implemented and expanded thanks to an unexpected turn of events in the early 13th century: the appearance on the scene, at exactly the same time, of the two great mendicant orders.

11.4 Pastoral Ministry in the Cities, 1216–1250: The Coming of the Friars

In an incisive article written over thirty years ago, Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt described the profound cultural transition that was occurring between the mid-12th and mid-13th centuries in Western Europe as an evolution in the way in which medieval men and women came to understand their place in the world. This new manner of perception, they claimed, could be summarized as a change in the way in which they understood how words–particularly, but not exclusively, religious words–came to mediate meaning in their lives. Men and women in this era became the creators of a new kind of "word"–"*une nouvelle parole*"–which consisted in a shift from a "vertical word" to a "horizontal word." Thus, whereas prior to this time the role of bishops and priests was to vertically communicate a divine and unquestioned word authoritatively from on high, by the early 13th century an emphasis was placed more on words communicated horizontally between human beings in a dialogical manner characterized more by persuasion and exchange than by simple dictate. In short, whereas in the earlier mode the human person was construed as being relatively passive, accepting of and assenting to whatever was being communicated, in the present period the human actor was more actively engaged in a give-and-take exchange, a dialogue of sorts, a dialectic of differing perspectives, whose purpose was to reach a satisfactory goal, end or outcome. The men and women of the High Middle Ages, in other words, were the originators and bearers of a "new word."[40]

This important shift, moreover, was the result of the convergence of the revival of town life in the wake of the Agricultural and Commercial revolutions and the re-emergence of the laity as relevant, if not determinative, actors in these new urban and commercial environments. Indeed, it is precisely this

40 Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Au XIIIe siècle: une nouvelle parole," in *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien,* vol. 1, (ed.) Jean Delumeau (Toulouse: 1979), 257–79; and Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: 1978), 199–201.

atmosphere of commercial exchange which shaped the mentalities of human beings who will be described as being in *conversatio* (dialogue), *commercium* (exchange) and *negotium* (business) with one other, shaping the way in which they came to perceive themselves in this new world of lively towns and how they would eventually come to understand the spiritual dimensions of their lives. For, the talking and verbal exchanges of the marketplace would now replace (but not entirely supplant) the silence of the cloister and become the formative context in which religious longing and experience, vice and virtue, sin and grace, would take place. Now it is precisely the men and women who were born into this new environment of the medieval communes–particularly in northern and central Italy–and who chose to follow Christ more intensely as a result of some inner inspiration or experience of conversion: these are the individuals who would become the apt arbiters of religious communication in the first decades of the 13th century. And most notable among these bearers of a new word were the two great mendicant orders: the Friars Preacher and Friars Minor–the followers of Dominic Guzman and Francis of Assisi.

11.5 The Early Dominicans and Franciscans

Dominic Guzman was born in the town of Caleruega in the province of Castile *c.*1170.[41] Entering religious life as a reformed canon in Osma in 1194, he accompanied his bishop, Diego, on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the Castilian crown in 1197. This voyage would bring them through Languedoc in southern France: the central arena of the Cathar heresy. Appalled by the poor results of the papally-commissioned Cistercian preachers, Dominic eventually dedicated himself and a growing number of followers to preaching against the doctrinal aberrations and practices entertained by the Cathars in this region and to bring back into the fold of Roman Catholicism those who had been led astray. In order to be convincing witnesses of the gospel, they donned simple clothing in conformity with the simplicity of the first disciples but also because the Cathar preachers themselves, disdaining the material world, were dressed

41 For an overview of the life of Dominic Guzman, see, for example: M.-H. Vicaire, *Histoire de saint Dominique*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1982); Philippe Tourault, *Saint Dominique face aux cathares* (Paris: 1999); Per Bjørn Halvorsen, *Saint Dominique: Du coeur aux frontières de l'Église*, trans. Agnès Porret and Thomas Patfoort (Paris: 2011); and the excellent collection of articles in: *Domenico di Caleruega e la nascita dell'Ordine dei frati predicatori,* Atti dei Convegni del "Centro Italiano di studi sul basso medioevo" – "Accademia Tudertina" e del "Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale," n. s. 18 (Spoleto: 2005).

in world-denying simplicity. Having won the admiration and affection of Fulk, the bishop of Toulouse, he would then serve as their advocate at Lateran IV attempting to get the approval of Pope Innocent III as an order of canons dedicated to preaching against heresy. Shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council, but now under the new pope Honorius III, Dominic and his followers were approved as an *ordo praedicatorum*: the first religious order explicitly dedicated to the ministry of preaching both locally in Languedoc and elsewhere if circumstances would dictate. And they would warrant an expansion quite soon. For with the intensification of the papally-sanctioned crusade against the Cathars in Languedoc, in 1217 the friars decided to disperse to a number of university towns both for safety and where they could dedicate themselves to more intensive study so as to prepare for future missions in the Church.

It is important to note the clerical (priestly) character of Dominican origins and the role assigned to informed preaching in order to competently combat heresy. By contrast, the story of Francis and his early followers had a very different beginning and orientation. Born around 1184 in the small central Italian town of Assisi, Francesco di Bernardone was the son of a relatively prosperous cloth merchant who was destined to take over his father's trade. But thanks largely to several bitter experiences in warfare which sowed seeds of doubt about the direction of his life, this troubled but effervescent young man, one day in 1205, encountered outside his city a group of lepers wandering beyond their leprosarium. That moment opened his eyes onto the intense suffering of other human beings of his region and the injustices now rampant in commercializing Assisi that were perpetrating such human misery and neglect. Thus begins the inspiration and the formulation into a simple rule of life of the charism of Francis and his early brothers to be *fratres minores*: lay penitents from the town of Assisi, living among and for the poor, who eventually received approval of their way of life in 1209 from Innocent III. They were also given permission by this pope to continue the moralistic preaching they had already been doing mostly in the Umbrian Valley but increasingly beyond the borders of the contiguous dioceses.[42]

42 The bibliography on Francis of Assisi is immense. Suffice it here to cite only a few of the more recent fundamental: Raoul Manselli, *Francis of Assisi*, trans. Paul Duggan (Chicago: 1988); André Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi: The Life and Afterlife of a Medieval Saint*, trans. Michael F. Cusato (New Haven, CT: 2012). For a thumbnail sketch of the early movement, see: Michael F. Cusato, "Francis and the Franciscan Movement (1181/2-1226)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, (ed.) Michael J. Robson (Cambridge: 2011), 17–33; and on a variety of topics but reflective of the social reading of the Franciscan movement espoused here, see: idem, *The Early Franciscan Movement: History, Sources and Hermeneutics, 1205–1239,* Medioevo Francescano. Saggi 14 (Spoleto: 2009).

These Friars Minor, born of the new mercantile society of central Italy and speaking a new word of compassion, mercy, and justice to their fellow citizens, would begin to attract other men and women to their form of life and spirituality, since it was perceived as being so vibrantly attuned to the yearnings and strivings, injustices, and sinfulness of their day. But many of the men who came to them, especially after 1220, were increasingly those who had received at least some education in the cathedral schools across northern and central Italy (and beyond): clerics, in other words, who would slowly begin to alter the movement's understanding of its own charism. Indeed, by the death of Francis in 1226, the stage had already been set for the famous clericalization of the order of Friars Minor as a religious movement increasingly dedicated to the pastoral (that is, priestly) work called for by the Fourth Lateran Council and in which the Friars Preacher–having moved their center now to Bologna–were already thoroughly engaged.[43]

The original pastoral orientation of Dominic and his followers and the bifurcation in Franciscan self-understanding during the 1220s towards a more explicit involvement in clerical ministry were soon revealed to be perfectly in tune with the aims of a papacy intent on implementing the ambitious program of reform launched by Lateran IV as well as on reviving orthodox religiosity and practice in the cities and towns of the Italian peninsula. This convergence occurred with new élan under the pontificate of Gregory IX who, as Hugolino dei Conti di Segni, had known both Francis and Dominic.[44] It would be a cooperation that would endure throughout the remainder of the 13th century.

However, one curious problem had to be resolved on the local level before such ambitious activities on the part of the friars could be realized. For, given the emphasis of the council on the irreducible role of the *proprius sacerdos* in the lives of the people of God not only as the primary sacramental minister of every Christian but also, as such, the person whose upkeep each parishioner was obligated to contribute to in the form of an annual tithe, the question arose regarding these new religious: to which parish did they belong and to whom did they owe their tithing?[45] Although this may strike us as unusual

43 On the clericalization of the Franciscan order, see Lawrence C. Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor, 1209–1250 in the Light of the Early Franciscan Sources* (Chicago: 1968); and Raoul Manselli, "La clericalizzazione dei Minori e san Bonaventura," in *S. Bonaventura francescano,* Convegni del Centro di storia della spiritualità medievale 14 (Todi: 1974), 181–208.

44 Hugolino had served as Cardinal Protector of the Franciscan order from 1221 or 1222 until his pontifical election in 1227.

45 Luigi Pellegrini, "Mendicanti e parroci: coesistenza e conflitti di due strutture organizzative della '*cura animarum*'," in *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nell'200,* Società Internazionale di studi francescani 8 (Assisi: 1981), 129–67, here at 137–41.

(given the fact that they were religious), it was an important issue which the papacy had to clarify: not only because of the difficulties posed by their vows of individual and communal poverty (giving them scarce resources) but also by virtue of their increasing involvement in ministries that were traditionally considered to be the province of local clergy. Thus did the papacy, in a series of bulls, gradually detach these men from their parochial obligations as Christians with a *proprius sacerdos* in favor of an explicit recognition of their participation as ministers in the pastoral tasks of preaching, hearing confessions, and burying the dead (usually benefactors) who were requesting it. For the Dominicans, this process was already finalized with the bull *Cum qui recipit prophetam* of 4 February 1219,[46] whereas the Minors–lagging behind in their clerical orientation–received the definitive insertion into the pastoral ministry on 1 February 1230 with *Si ordinis*[47] (and with a final clarification on confessions only on 6 April 1237 with *Quoniam abundavit*).[48] Through these actions, Gregory IX was granting the two orders, what he called, a *partitio* in the *sollicitudo pastoralia* which belonged by right (*ex officio*) to parish clergy, having been given to them from the fullness of their bishop's office. But in doing so, he was also explicitly intending to create a new organizational structure of the *cura animarum*, grounded in the letter of canon 11 of Lateran IV (as coadjutors and assistants of the bishops: *commissi* rather than *missi*), by which he was endeavoring to address–in a far more comprehensive manner than ever before, by means of men who could cross diocesan and territorial boundaries– the unmet spiritual needs of a new time.

However, the creation of these new *officia pastoralia* accorded to the two mendicant orders, who were conceived as flanking (not supplanting) the traditional diocesan structures, did not meet with immediate welcome. This is evident, for example, in the major bull, *Nimis iniqua*, sent on 28 August 1231 by Gregory IX in defense of the Franciscans and their ministerial prerogatives.[49] Issued in response to complaints lodged by certain German bishops against the perceived encroachment of the friars onto the parochial rights of their clergy, the contents of the bull give an indication of the place which the pope had envisioned for both mendicant orders in the ministry of the Church.

46 *Historia diplomarica S. Dominici,* (ed.) M.-H Laurent, Monumenta Ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica 15 (Paris: 1933), 149–50.

47 *Bullarium Francescanum* vol. 1, (ed.) G. Sbaraglia (Rome: 1989 [orig. ed., Rome: 1759]), 58–9 [hereafter as BF].

48 BF 1, 212–15.

49 The bull *Nimis iniqua* (BF, vol. 1, 75–7) represents the culmination of a series of bulls sent by Gregory in defense of the friars' ministry; for example: *Ita vobis* (26 July 1227); *Cum non deceat* (26 July 1227); and *Nimis prava* (22 August 1231).

Defending the friars' ministry as an extraordinary gift to both the universal and local church, Gregory excoriates those who would complain about and even prevent their contribution to the ministry in these harsh terms:

> ... For it is by an overly amount of ingratitude that those who shamefully fatten themselves up on the patrimony of Christ [prelates and clergy] respond to such contributions by daring to persecute it [the Church] in the person of those who serve it–as if the God of vengeance had suddenly become powerless! It is well known that our beloved sons, the Friars Minor, in great denial of themselves, have chosen to serve the poor Christ in the highest poverty in order to be among those who, having nothing here on earth, possess everything. Well, it so happens that prelates and others who, blinded by their greed, assume that someone is taking away from their spirit of acquisitiveness all that the piety of the faithful gives to the friars. For this reason, they scheme to find occasions to harass them in every way ...

Gregory then goes on to enumerate the ways in which obstacles are being set in the way of the friars' life and ministry:

> They do not permit the friars to celebrate the Divine Office in their oratories, except on certain designated days; they prohibit them from reserving the Holy Eucharist there and order them to receive the sacraments at the parish church; they do not allow them to have a bell-tower or their own cemetery; they demand that the deceased friars be buried (or at least that their funeral liturgy take place) at the parish, so that the offering might come back to the pastor; they even demand a tithe from their gardens and a hundredth for their houses ... under the pretext that they would [normally] collect these fees and tithes from people who would live there instead of the friars ... Even more, they claim the right to name their superiors and demand of them an oath of fidelity, their attendance at diocesan synods and their observance of diocesan ordinances. They even claim the right to fix the number [of friars] in each convent, to be present at their chapters, to correct them and oblige them to obedience under threat of expulsion ...

The pope then concludes with a definitive command and a warning:

> Therefore, we forbid, henceforth, every appeal to the Roman Curia on these matters and we warn you that we will ensure the freedom of the friars in another way if you disobey our orders ...

A more stirring defense of the friars' place in the local church and of the efficacy of their ministry could scarcely be imagined.[50]

One of the primary reasons why the papacy was so intent on defending the pastoral initiatives of the Friars Minor and Preacher was not only because such men were not confined within the boundaries of diocese and kingdom, allowing them thus to move across such barriers freely in order to implement the intentions and agenda of the Curia. No, these were, for the most part, men who had been born and raised within the new sociocultural environment of the burgeoning and commercializing cities of northern and central Italy. They knew the mindset and spiritual needs of their fellow citizens and, given their respective charisms of penance and preaching, they would be able to–indeed had already proven themselves capable of–speaking more directly and effectively to the people of their time, as we shall see.

But there is an additional reason. The Dominicans, in particular, almost from the very beginning, certainly after the Great Dispersion of 1217, has begun to develop a system of *studia* within their conventual structures whose explicit purpose was to train their friars in biblical, moral, theological, and philosophical studies which would then be placed at the service of the *ars praedicandi* out in the cities of Italy as well as across the mountains in France, England, and Germany. Indeed, not only did the Friars Preacher consider every convent a *studium*, but they quickly developed a whole system of local (conventual), regional (provincial), and international (*studia generale*) study houses which provided a foundational education to every one of their clerics. The Friars Preachers also allowed their members the flexibility to promote the most talented among them up the line to the very highest levels of study (in Paris and Oxford, for example).[51] It was not until after the death of Francis of Assisi in 1226, under his lay successors, John Parenti and Elias of Cortona, that permission had been given to create a few houses of study here and there for the purpose of training–like the Dominicans–their new own recruits in sacred theology with Francis' proviso that such study "not extinguish the

50 See John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: 1968), 94–109; and Grado G. Merlo, *In the Name of Saint Francis*, trans. Raphael Bonnano (St. Bonaventure, NY: 2009), 109 and 120–1.

51 For the Dominicans: M. Michèle Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent in Study": Dominican Education before 1350,* Studies and Texts 132 (Toronto: 1998). And for the Franciscans: Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education* (*c. 1210–1517*) (Leiden: 2000), esp. Chapter 1, 1–117; and, most recently, the excellent volume by Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209–1310* (Ithaca, NY: 2012).

spirit of prayer and devotion."[52] By 1236, at the very latest, both orders had *studia* operating and flourishing in the prime university centers of the new pastoral thinking initiated towards the end of the previous century: Paris and Oxford.[53]

11.6 The Apostolic Work of the Two Great Mendicant Orders in the Italian Communes, 1220–1250

As we have seen, a decisive turning point towards the development of a new–one might even say a more holistic–approach to pastoral ministry began to be elaborated within the schools of northern France, Paris in particular, in the wake of the Third Lateran Council (1179), thereby laying the groundwork for the grand achievement of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, had there not been a significant reframing of the purposes and methods of the pastoral arts of preaching and confession within this timeframe, the work of Lateran IV would have been significantly impoverished. And yet, there is precious little evidence that the creative new approaches outlined by writers such as Alan of Lille, Peter the Chanter, Raoul l'Ardent, and Peter Comestor (and a few others) seem to have had little impact upon the actual practices of the *cura animarum* among clergy either in France, England or especially in Italy until well after the council. This indifference is astonishing in the light of significant practical norms and guides drafted by local ecclesiastics such as Eudes de Sully (Paris, 1198) and Hubert Walter of Westminster (1200) or by the pontifical legate, Robert of Courçon (1213–1215) and Stephen Langton (Canterbury).[54] It was, in short, a long and slow process of translation from the written word of these scholars and prelates to the lived realities out in the parishes.

It is precisely the new mendicant orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, each with its developing system of *studia* across Western and Central

52 The words are those of Francis of Assisi to Anthony of Padua in his famous "Letter to Anthony," in FA: ED, vol. 1, 107.

53 Whereas the Dominicans had acquired two academic chairs in 1229 during the time of the university strike by the masters with the entry of Roland of Cremona and John of Saint-Gilles, both masters, into their *studium*, the Friars Minor acquired their first chair with the entrance of Alexander of Hales, leading figure and master of theology at the University of Paris, either in 1231 or possibly as late as 1236. My preference is for the earlier date.

54 All of these figures, not coincidentally, had been schooled in Paris during the last quarter of the 12th century at the cathedral school under those illustrious teachers we have just mentioned.

Europe, who served as the primary conduits of this new and creative thinking on pastoral practices, especially–or perhaps most visibly–in the Italian communes where they had come to settle and minister. In other words, what was examined and taught in the *studia* came to be translated into the praxis of preaching, confession, and, to a lesser degree, the reception of the Eucharist. For indeed, Alan of Lille had already written of the intimate connection between these three activities in his influential *Liber poenitentialis*:

> But especially at the beginning of Lent, that which is called the chief of fasts, let the priest gather his parishioners, and offer them a sermon especially about repentance, and invite them to [the sacrament of] penance, warning them lest they put it off; but let them be penitent throughout the whole time of the fast so that they might thereby prepare themselves to be worthy to receive the body of Christ, lest presenting themselves unworthy, they eat it unto their judgement.[55]

And not all that different was the Dominican Humbert of Romans, who created a different trinity of elements: study, preaching, and confession.[56] Of the two mendicant communities, it was the Franciscans who tended to emphasize more directly the connection to the third sacrament, the Eucharist. Thus, an examination of some evidence of the various contributions of these two orders to the ministry of word and sacrament in the cities of northern Italy is warranted.[57]

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55 Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, vol. 2, (ed.) Jean Longère, Analecta mediaevalia namurcensia 17–8 (Louvain-Lille: 1965), c. 50, 158.

56 Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, c. 21, in idem, *Opera de vita regulari, vol. 2: Expositio in constitutiones. Instructiones de officiis ordinis. De eruditione praedicatorum. Epistolae encyclicae*, (ed.) J.J. Berthier (Turin: 1956), 432: "But if this study has not preaching for its end, of what use is it?" This is to be combined with his remarks in which he lists confession as the primary purpose of preaching, second only to the infidels (see, vol. 2, 444). An English translation of the *De eruditione* is available in: *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings*, (ed.) Simon Tugwell (New York: 1982), 183–370.

57 I am going to explore only the contributions of the two great mendicant orders–the Dominicans and Franciscans–and not those of the Augustinian Hermits, Carmelites or Servants of Mary (Servites). Such groups were grafted onto the mendicant tree of religious life only after the 1240s, especially as they were pressed into pastoral service by the papacy, thereby altering (for the first two, at least) their original eremitical character.

11.7 Preaching

As Le Goff and Schmitt have reminded us, this period of the High Middle Ages was an era of the word. Indeed, the preached word, in particular since the time of the Gregorian Reform, had seen a resurgence as an essential ministry within the Church, revived especially by the new communities of Canons Regular who gave themselves to preaching within the cities and towns whose faithful had, for too long a time, been neglected from the pulpit. But other unattached, itinerant charismatic figures, in this period of increased mobility and transit, were also sowing the word along the highways and byways. Nevertheless, the evolution in the understanding of the human person occurring in the 12th century took concrete form in the elaboration of a new approach to preaching, consisting not so much in generic pronouncements (restatements) based on the citation of old patristic authorities, but rather a preaching aimed more directly at the men and women constituting the preacher's audience. This kind of preaching, directed to the assembled faithful in the vernacular (or quickly translated into the vulgar tongue of the audience), was noteworthy in a person like the bishop of Paris, Maurice of Sully, who left behind a large collection of such sermons.[58] But most notable of all were the so-called *sermones ad statum* made famous especially by the reformed cleric of Flanders, Jacques de Vitry.[59] These sermons were explicitly constructed in order to touch the actual spiritual concerns of the faithful, especially the laity, as their content took into account age, family status, economic level, and social profession or trade spanning the wide variety of occupations within lay life: merchants, artisans, tanners, soldiers, widows, parents, the sick and dying, the poor, and rich, etc. Jacques' revolutionary approach to preaching would have an important impact–while he remained in Western Europe prior to his consecration as bishop of Acre in 1216 and thanks to the collection of sermons he left behind–upon the spiritual longings, temptations, dilemmas of conscience, and moral decision-making which Christians of the 13th century faced on a daily basis. This model of preaching–targeted to specific audiences, delivered in the vernacular and filled with examples from and for daily life–would be adopted and adapted in various ways by the two mendicant orders.

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58 Cf. Paul Meyer, "Les manuscrits des sermons français de Maurice de Sully," *Romania* 23 (1894): 177–91; C.A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily* (Oxford: 1952); Jean Longère, *Les sermons latins de Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris (1196)* (Steenbrugis–Dordrecht: 1988).

59 According to Catherine Vincent ("Naissance du curé," 97), Jacques left behind 194 sermons (for Sundays and great feasts), 74 of which were addressed *ad statum*.

Whether it be the lay penitential preaching consisting of moral exhortations by Francis of Assisi or the more schooled sermons of Dominic Guzman, preaching was a natural outgrowth of the charism of these two orders. Taken up by their followers while they were still alive but greatly expanded and deepened after their deaths, the preaching of the two great mendicant communities, in general, followed a simple chronological trajectory.[60] At first, the friars tended to restrict themselves to preaching, with permission, in the local churches of the towns through which they passed or in which they were beginning to settle. Evidence for such sermons consists mostly of isolated references in any number of chronicles or personal testimonies, both from within the orders or from the towns where the churches were located or from other outside observers. By the 1230s, however, a more ambitious form of preaching had developed, organizing large crowds in public spaces, often in front of the bishop's cathedral or in the marketplaces of towns or even in enormous fields for greater, more elaborate preaching events. Finally, beginning particularly in the later 1240s and 1250s, as the friars of both orders began to settle down more definitively in the cities and towns and when their benefactors made it possible for them to establish themselves in convents closer to the centers of the town, the mendicants were enabled to have churches of their own constructed, often designed in a unique manner–sometimes with double naves–so as to accommodate large crowds inside their churches for their sermons.[61] We see such activities in Florence, for example, in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella on the west side of town and Santa Croce of the Franciscans on the opposite side to the east. Cities like Lucca, Pisa, Pistoia, Prato, and Siena similarly witnessed significant mendicant churches being built in their midst.[62]

The preaching of Francis of Assisi himself, in fact, illustrates the first two phases of these activities. According to the *Vita prima* of Thomas of Celano, his first biographer, Francis, soon after he had decided on his vocation of becoming an itinerant preacher of penance, was known to have preached in his parish church of San Giorgio.[63] But because he was lacking in theological training,

60 I have borrowed this structure from Michael Robson, "A Ministry of Preachers and Confessors: The Pastoral Impact of the Friars," in *A History of Pastoral Care*, (ed.) G.R. Evans (London: 1999), 126–47, esp. 131–3.

61 For an overview of this topic, see: Antonio Cadei, "Architettura mendicante: il problema di una definizione tipologica," *Storia della città* 8, nos. 2–3 (1980): 21–32; Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Ordines studentes: Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: 1985); and Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Architektur der Bettelorden: die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa* (Darmstadt: 2000).

62 Cf. Michael Robson, "Ministry of Preachers," 133.

63 1Cel 23, in FA: ED, vol. 1, 202.

more often than not, the prime place for his exhortations was out in the public squares, like the sermon reported by Thomas of Spalato (Split) on 15 August 1222, when Francis spoke in the main piazza of Bologna. Interestingly, Thomas contrasts the friars' preaching style with the more refined and controlled models of ordained priests, characterizing the former as more of harangue (in fact, akin to the use of *ars concionandi*) in which the speaker shouts out to the crowd or uses theatrical dramatizations to catch the attention of passersby or to illustrate a point (as when he had himself led through the city streets, a rope around his neck, accusing himself of having broken his fast).[64] This popular style of vernacular preaching would capture the attention of potential listeners, drawing them in to hear the *real* message: the call to conversion and repentance exemplified by a change of lifestyle and behavior.

It is almost axiomatic to assume that relations between the friars of both orders and the local bishop and his clergy were strained and tense: the very presence of the mendicants in their dioceses being a threat to the pastoral prerogatives and duties which Lateran IV had placed such an emphasis on in 1215. However, one must be careful not to overly generalize this tension. The famous conflict between the secular masters and the mendicants at the University of Paris during the 1250s and 1260s, it is true, was very real and also included the component of a growing resistance on the part of some bishops and clergy to the perceived intrusion by the friars upon their pastoral prerogatives (as the bull *Nimis iniqua* of 1231 to German bishops had demonstrated). However, as Luigi Pellegrini has pointed out, this tension and open resistance was not particularly widespread in northern and central Italy, at least throughout much of the first half of the 13th century, where the friars' preaching (and even assistance in confession) seems to have been more welcomed than not.[65] For the most part, the friars confined themselves to Sunday preaching (which ought not compete with the sermons of the local bishop and his clergy) and on the great feasts of the Church calendar. But then, they became the real specialists in conducting lengthy preaching campaigns during the holy seasons of Advent, especially Lent. In all these moments, the mendicants showed themselves not only *viri idonei* but particularly adept at reaching men and women whose spiritual lives had become disconnected from their daily lives and activities and, consequently, sometimes distanced–at least in spirit–from the official church.

64 Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitarum*, in *Testimonia minora saeculi* XIII *de S. Francisco Assisiensi*, (ed.) L. Lemmens, Collectanea Philosophico-Theologica 3 (Quaracchi: 1926), 10.

65 Luigi Pellegrini, "Vescovi e ordini mendicanti," in *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia del* XIV *alla metà del* XVI *secolo*, (eds.) Giuseppina De Sandre, Antonio Rigon, Francesco Trolese and Gian Maria Varanini, Italia Sacra 43 (Rome: 1990), 183–258, esp. 189–94.

But the real difference in the situation above and below the mountains can be accounted, at least in part, to the particularly rancorous and divisive political situation in northern Italy (in Lombardy, the Marches of Treviso, the Veneto) which saw incessant and bloody warfare between families within the city and between the various communes throughout the region, leading men and women not only to despair but also yearning to be shown, at long last, a way out of such vituperative conflicts. This is where the mendicants would prove their real originality and worth. Crossing diocesan boundaries and not being bound inextricably to any particular town or regional power,[66] the friars were able to bring a "new word"–an evangelical word–of healing based on reconciliation and the reestablishment of an equilibrium grounded in justice. They had, in other words, both a freedom of mobility and a certain impartiality and credibility which bishops and local clergy often could not claim. The friars were, for the most part, outside arbiters, impartial adjudicants, with an eye to devising evangelical solutions to intractable socio-political human problems. And during the 1230s in particular, they carried out this work through inspirational public preaching and, going to some extent to the root of these problems, through creative legislative solutions. For the work of reconciliation, though inspired by preaching, could only be completed through concrete action.

Let us examine two examples of this kind of work–one from the ministry of the Friars Minor and another from that of the Friars Preacher–that will serve as an apt illustration of this kind of peace-making.

11.8 Anthony of Padua and the Great Lenten Cycle of 1231

The first example is the famous cycle of sermons preached by Anthony of Padua within that same town during Lent of 1231. Just prior to this moment, Anthony had been involved in difficult negotiations up in Verona, attempting to secure the release of Riccardo di Sanbonifacio from imprisonment by Ezzelino III da Romano–tractations which ultimately proved fruitless as neither party was ready to cede ground. It was, nonetheless, Anthony's contention that in order for conflicts such as these to be resolved, there must be one who can stand "*in medio fratrum*" ("in the middle of one's brothers"); that is, there must be one who is grounded in charity between two antagonistic extremes, who can bring two opposing sides to a point of compromise, conciliation, and then reconciliation. For, as he would like to say: "*in medio est caritas.*" Carrying

66 Family could be a different issue, tipping the individual preacher closer to his own family's interests (e.g., the case of the Friar Minor, Leo dei Vavassori da Perego).

on Francis of Assisi's conviction that all authentic and lasting change must ultimately be made and assented to within the human heart, Anthony attempted to go beyond the external trappings of conflict to the very heart of the individual actors in the drama. This was the horizontal word at work.

Returning to the city of Padua, Anthony then devised a novel form of Lenten preaching which consisted of moving around the city, throughout the 40-day period, preaching in a different place every day–and, one assumes, to different targeted audiences–enjoining each of them to reflect upon their lives in the light of the gospel message and to confess their sins in preparation for the feast of Easter and reception of the Eucharist.[67] A particular and recurring emphasis in these sermons, however, was on the issue of usury and its companion vice of burdensome debt which was tearing families asunder: for, with the breadwinner of the family locked away in prison, other members were often reduced to stealing, prostitution or even worse (murder) simply in order to survive. And, in the case of the more powerful, it sowed the seeds, all too often, of revenge and retaliatory violence: hence the horrible cycle of violence, bedeviling the communes in the Veneto and elsewhere. These sermons of Anthony would have a cumulative effect upon the city, generating energy and momentum whereby the crowds gathering to hear him grew to a crescendo as the program reached its climax on Palm Sunday. The cycle culminated in the crafting of new statutes for the commune in which these issues of justice were addressed.[68]

11.9 The Alleluia of 1233 and the Missions of John of Vicenza and Gerard of Modena

Anthony of Padua died a few months later this same year. Around Easter in 1233, a layman by the name of Benedict the Horn (Cornetto) burst onto the scene in the city of Parma, leading through the streets a large group of children and others, singing songs to God as a plea for peace among the warring factions in the region which had caused so much bloodshed and heartache among the people. This spontaneous outcry for peace is known as "the Alleluia."[69] Shortly thereafter, by mid-summer, two mendicant friars, the Franciscan Gerard of

67 Cesira Gasparotto, "La grande missione antoniana a Padova," *Il Santo*, n. s., 5 (1965): 211–25.

68 Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, "La pace in Antonio e nella '*devoti*' dei mendicanti del 1233," *Studia patavina* 28 (1981): 503–8.

69 Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford: 1992), 29–44; and Daniel Brown, "'The Alleluia': A Thirteenth-Century Peace Movement," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 81 (1988): 3–16.

Modena and the Dominican John of Vicenza, endeavored to capture this popular enthusiasm and channel it into more concrete actions for peace.[70] Whereas Gerard preached his message in Parma (an ally of his native town of Modena), John's initial preaching was done in his home town of Bologna and then greatly expanded elsewhere. The time was indeed ripe.

Gerard's preaching struck a chord in Parma. The city, however, was moved to translate enthusiasm into concrete action. Deposing its current podestà, the commune named Gerard as its temporary leader, ceding him the power as podestà to draft new statutes for the city that would, it was hoped, heal the rifts between the classes (and their external allies) by addressing various issues of economic inequality, injustice, and the return of political exiles, thereby robbing the contending parties of the usual sources of their conflicts. Similar powers were accorded to two other Franciscans engaged in the same work of pacification elsewhere: Leo dei Valvassori da Perego (of the powerful Milanese family) in the towns of Piacenza and Monza, while Henry of Milan preached and legislated for a brief time in Vercelli.

But it was the efforts of the Dominican, John of Vicenza, which held center stage. Granted extraordinary powers (*dux et comes*: though perhaps not the power of a temporary podestà) in Bologna, Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, he, too, was able to move from the preached word to the enactment of concrete laws within each of the communes so as to put flesh upon the spirit of conversion engendered by his fiery, if sometimes eccentric (even contrived) sermons. In Verona for example, John was reported to have secured the return of their symbol of civic power, the *carroccio*, which he then mounted and rode into town like a kind of conquering hero. But it was the spectacular assembly in the fields of Paquara outside Verona on 28 August 1233 which remains the high watermark of his ministry. For, in response to his impassioned sermon on peace among Christian peoples, opening with a citation of Jesus' words from the gospel of John 14:37 ("Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you"), the inveterate enemies of the region, Ezzelino III da Romano (of Verona), on the one side, and Riccardo San Bonifacio and Azzo VI d'Este (of the region of Padua) on the other, embraced each other and exchanged the kiss of peace in the sight of the vast and astonished assembly. Another Dominican, Jacopino of Reggio held a somewhat smaller-scaled–but no less successful–assembly between the towns of Calerno and Sant'Ilario (in the bishopric of Parma).

70 These events are elucidated in the magisterial article by André Vauchez, "Une campagne de pacification en Lombardie autour de 1233: l'action politique des ordres mendiants d'après la réforme des statuts communaux et les accords de paix," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. École Française de Rome* 78 (1966): 519–49.

Although rooted in the divine (and thus vertical) word of the peace of Christ, the efforts of these preachers were directed horizontally, that is, to inspire these human actors to address each other, man-to-man, so to speak, thereby incarnating in real life the message of the gospel.[71]

These accounts are only the most spectacular examples of an effort by the friars of both communities to bring the gospel to fruition in the daily lives of the men and women of their day in the form of sound ethical behavior especially in matters of economic justice. One can find other examples of friars, both in Italy and over the mountains, who made their mark upon the populaces in diverse regions. Humile of Milan, for example, who had studied theology under the Franciscan Haymo of Faversham and taught theology to his fellow friar, the chronicler Salimbene, likewise conducted a noteworthy preaching tour near Fano, gathering peoples from the town as well as from the nearby hills. Slightly later, in the early 1260s, Berthold of Regensburg carried on similar public preaching campaigns in Bavaria and Switzerland, Hungary, and Bohemia.[72]

11.10 The Call to Justice and the Use of *Exempla*

But, in most instances, the preaching of the mendicants was intended to lead their hearers to demonstrate concrete outcomes or manifestations of the spirit of their conversion. This results-based sermonizing was characteristic of the work of the two orders, certainly during this decade of the 1230s. Indeed, the very specificity of the content of their preaching is what allowed the friars to connect so immediately to their audiences and explains, at least in part, the excellent rapport and warm welcome they received in most regions of Italy during this period.

In this, at least the Friars Minor could be said to be carrying on the spirit of their founder, Francis of Assisi. For not only does he, in his preaching and writings, incite his brothers and lay audiences, using the words of John the Baptist, to always "produce fruits worthy of penance;"[73] but the Poverello himself also seems to be at the origin of the famous episode–reported in elaborate fashion much later in the *Fioretti*–that tells of his purported taming of a marauding and threatening wolf in the town of Gubbio.[74] To many this well-known story

71 Cf. Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, 45–76, passim.

72 Cf. Michael Robson, "Ministry of Preachers," 132–3.

73 For example, in the Long Version of the "Letter to All the Faithful," in FA: ED, vol. 1, 47, verse 25.

74 *Fioretti*, c. 21, in FA: ED, vol. 3, 601–4.

appears to be just a charming narrative about Francis' love of animals and how he pacified a tense situation by domesticating, as it were, a ferocious beast. However, on another level–the actual intent of the story–the episode is really about a central Italian town torn apart with dissension, its populace having taken up arms to defend itself, because one who was ravenously hungry out in the countryside (the poor: the have-nots) has been threatening to attack and take away from these citizens what it needs simply to survive. For at the conclusion of the story, as Francis is close to reconciling the wolf with the townspeople, the Poor Man of Assisi says in effect to the wolf: "And I promise you that from this day forward the people of this town will always provide food enough for you so that there will never be a need for you to threaten them ever again." This is a story which accurately describes the concrete historical realities that were at the origin of so much of the bloodletting in the Italian communes which the mendicant preachers were attempting to address in their sermons and work with the ruling councils of the towns. The theme of the just use of the goods of creation is a constant theme among Franciscan preachers from its founder to the later Spiritual Franciscans of central Italy.

We should also point out that the story of the wolf of Gubbio was also an *exemplum*: that is, a vivid story or example that was intended to be used by preachers in order to bring the message of the gospel to the level of the imagination of the listener in the crowd or congregation. This will be an important and recurring Franciscan device in their preaching. Another such illustration is the story tacked onto the conclusion of the long version of Francis of Assisi's *Letter to All the Faithful* in which, after setting out at some length the call to penance, he appends a story of a man–some conjecture it may even have been his own father–who, on his deathbed, was still refusing to return his ill-gotten gains before giving up his spirit in a wretched demise.[75] Preachers who carried the message of penance with the text of this famous letter were thus given an apt illustration they could use to bring home the lofty call to repentance by demonstrating in the concrete what that might look like for individual human beings in their lives.

11.11 Sermon Collections, Treatises on Preaching, and Biblical Concordances

Indeed, one of the great legacies of the mendicants to the development of the genre of pastoral literature in the 13th century was to continue the tradition

75 "Letter to All the Faithful (Long Version)," in FA: ED, vol. 1, 50–1.

already begun by men such as Maurice of Sully and Jacques de Vitry who had left behind compilations of their sermonic materials for future preachers. For one of the most important contributions made by the friars to the art of pastoral care in the Middle Ages was the composition of these collections of model sermons with appended *exempla* for the use of their confreres or others to serve as aids in the preparation of their preaching in the parishes or out in the public spaces.[76] On a different note, the great Dominican preacher and former master general of the order, Humbert of Romans, as we have already noted, wrote for his brothers an important treatise explaining the purposes and means of good preaching: *De eruditione praedicatorum*. And we should add to this achievement in pastoral aids to preaching the important biblical concordance put together around 1230 by a team of Friars Preacher in Paris, led by Hugh of Saint Cher. This would be a crucial and helpful tool for preachers who wished to craft their sermons with multiple references to the Scriptures.[77]

11.11 The Preaching against Heresy

Finally, although not strictly speaking directly associated with the *cura animarum*, we should also mention the important work of the mendicants, especially the Dominicans, against the scourge of heresy pullulating across northern Italy in the first decades of the 13th century. Since the last decades of the previous century, Christian orthodoxy was being challenged by an attraction in some quarters to the Cathar heresy migrating from southern France. By way of illustration, let's briefly mention two examples of the activities of the mendicants to confront this spread of this alternate but doctrinally deviant form of Christian perfection.

76 We can mention, for example, the sermon collections of Anthony of Padua, *Sermones dominicales et festivi,* 3 vols. (eds.) B. Costa, L. Frasson, I. Luisetto and P. Marangon (Padua: 1979); and that of Gilbert of Tournai, yet unedited. See also the article of Bernard Hodel, "Les sermons rapportés de Hugues de Saint-Cher," in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263): bibliste et théologien*, (eds.) Louis-Jacques Bataillon, Gilbert Dahan, and Pierre-Marie Gy (Turnhout: 2004), 233–51.

77 Lesley Smith, "Hugh of Cher and Medieval Collaboration," in *Transforming Relations: Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History in Honor of Michael A. Singer,* (ed.) Franklin T. Harkins (Notre Dame, IN: 2010), 241–64; and Bert Roest, "Mendicant School Exegesis," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception & Performance in Western Christianity*, (eds.) Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: 2009), 178–204.

The first concerns the preaching of Anthony of Padua against the Cathar heresy in the Romagna from 1222–1224. Using the convent of Santa Maria delle Pugiole near Bologna as his base, most of Anthony's preaching unfolded in and around the town of Rimini, one of the prime centers for Italian Catharism. It is here that the hagiographical sources give us no less than three "fish-stories" (two involve trying to trick Anthony into violating his Catholic fast), including the famous story of his preaching to a group of attentive fish, in contrast to the inattentive and unreceptive citizens in the town. It is also here where Anthony outwits a conniving Cathar, Bononillus by name, over the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist: the story of a mule starved by the heretic who, instead of eating his oats and thus disrespecting the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, knelt in homage to the monstrance carried by Anthony![78] From here, Anthony took his concerns for the integrity of the Catholic sacramental system to southern France where he held a number of public debates with the Cathars in Languedoc. From all of these activities, he accrued his famous nickname: the "Hammer of Heretics" (*Martellus hereticorum*).[79] Incidentally, it is in the context of thus confronting Catharism in the Romagna and for this purpose that Anthony asked and received from Francis the permission to train several friars in the rudiments of theology–the beginning of the Franciscan incremental involvement in the development of studies in their order.[80]

As for the Dominicans, it must be recalled that the original focus of their training and preaching was to challenge head-on the Cathar heresy, both in Languedoc as well as in Italy. Indeed, one could give numerous examples of this work in the first decades of the century. However, simply by way of example, the work of Peter of Verona is illustrative of this aspect of their work in this area. While studying in Bologna in 1221, Peter had met Dominic Guzman and entered the order of Friars Preacher. In the early 1230s, he decided to dedicate himself to the cause of preaching against the Cathars in Italy, debating them in Rome, Florence, Bologna, Genoa and Como, being named a General Inquisitor by Gregory IX in 1234.[81] Beyond the refutation of the heresy, Peter's burning

78 Cf. for ease of reference, see my overview of the life of Anthony: Michael F. Cusato, "'Something's Lost and Must Be Found …' The Recovery of the Historical Anthony of Padua," *The Cord* 52 (2002): 58–71 and 106–13.

79 Mariano d'Alatri, "Antonio, martello degli eretici?" in idem*, Eretici e inquisitori in Italia. Studi e documenti, vol. 1: Il Duecento* (Rome: 1986), 76–81.

80 Cf. Francis of Assisi's aforementioned "Letter to Anthony," in FA: ED, vol. 1, 107.

81 The machinery of the Inquisition was just beginning to take shape in this period under this same pontiff.

desire was to bring people to recognize the means of grace offered by God in the sacraments. In 1251, Innocent IV made him inquisitor in Lombardy. Apparently angering those whom he denounced for their rejection of the sacraments (as well as numerous lukewarm Catholics), Peter found himself ambushed, along with a companion, on his way back from Como to Milan on 6 April 1252 in the small hamlet of Barlassina. Both men were killed, Peter almost instantly. In the aftermath, in appreciation for his ministry on behalf of Catholic orthodoxy against the Cathars, Peter was canonized and came to henceforth be known as Peter Martyr.[82]

11.12 Confession

Intimately tied to the ministry of preaching for the mendicants was their involvement in the sacrament of penance. Indeed, as was stated, one preached *so as to* lead the listener to repentance and confession.[83] Of all the sacraments treated in the pastoral literature of the 13th century, it was by far the sacrament of penance (and its context within the rite of confession) which received the most elaborate and detailed expositions by the friars. It was the most intimate of horizontal words. And yet, it must be said that, similar to the innovations introduced to the art of preaching during the last quarter of the 12th century and the first two decades of the thirteenth, the foundations for the mendicant contribution to the practice of penance had already been laid in this same

82 On Peter Martyr, see: Christine Caldwell, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint," *Comitatus* 31 (2000): 137–73; Markus Schürer, "Die Findung des Heiligen: Dominikus von Guzmán und Petrus Martyr als Figuren zwischen Topik und Singularität," in *Das Eigene und das Ganze. Zum Individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiösentum*, (eds.) Gert Melville and Markus Schürer, Vita Regularis 16 (Münster: 2002), 339–77; Barbara De Marco and Jerry R. Craddock, "Peter Martyr and the Development of Early Dominican Hagiography," in *Études de langues et de littérature médiévales offertes à Peter T. Ricketts à l'occasion de son 70ème anniversaire*, (eds.) Dominique Billy and Ann Buckley (Turnhout: 2005), 141–52; and *Martire per la fede. San Pietro da Verona: domenicano e inquisitore,* (ed.) Gianni Festa, Collana "Domenicani" 29 (Bologna: 2007).

83 Near the beginning of his *De eruditione praedicatorum*, (Engl. trans., 186), Humbert of Romans writes: "If we want to appreciate how necessary preaching is for the world, we must realize that the souls of the saints who have died are crying out to God . . . lamenting about those who dwell on the earth. And . . . what they are lamenting is that people are so slow to repent and do penance, because this delays the final fulfillment of their joy in heaven . . . Now there is nothing so powerful to speed up the coming of this fulfillment as preaching. This is why it says in Matthew 4:17 that Jesus began to preach and to say 'Repent for the kingdom of heaven will soon arrive' ..."

time period and, notably once again, in northern France and England. But this time the critical key contributions had been made by a number of prelates–most of whom had studied under the innovative masters of pastoral theology in Paris–who endeavored to make the ritual more responsive to the real spiritual needs of their people. What kinds of innovations did they themselves introduce?

Robert of Flamborough, canon and penitentiary of the abbey of Saint Victor in Paris, for example, was the author of a *Liber poenitentialis*. Moving away from the overly stereotypical categories of sins and heavy tariffs mandated for them, regardless of circumstances or intentions, this English cleric introduced into the ritual a kind of question-and-answer interrogative between confessor and penitent. An excerpt from a section of his manual will help elucidate this new style of probing so as to get at the specific circumstances surrounding the sinner and his or her sin.

PRIEST: There remains the matter of coitus which is lechery [*luxuria*] in the strictest sense of the term. Have you ever been polluted with lechery?
PENITENT: Many times.
PRIEST: Ever against nature?
PENITENT: Many times.
PRIEST: Ever with a man?
PENITENT: Many times.
PRIEST: With clerics or with laymen?
PENITENT: With both.
PRIEST: Married laymen or single?
PENITENT: Both.
PRIEST: With how many married people?
PENITENT: I don't know.
PRIEST: So you don't know how many times?
PENITENT: That's correct.
PRIEST: Let us find out what we can. How long were you with them?
PENITENT: Seven years.
PRIEST: In what rank of their orders?
PENITENT: I have been with some [variously] two years in the priesthood, two in the diaconate, two in the sub-diaconate, a year as an acolyte. I sinned with single people, but I don't know the number of people or times.
PRIEST: Did you sin with clerics?
PENITENT: I sinned both with seculars and with religious.

> PRIEST: Tell me how many seculars and how many religious, and what order you and they were in when you sinned together, and whether they possessed the dignity of archdeacon, dean, abbot or bishop? Did you ever introduce any innocent person to that sin? Say how many and what order you were then in?[84]

This back-and-forth, question-and-answer approach may remind some older Roman Catholics of the kind of "grilling" from the priest they may have received as a penitent. However, given the context of our discussion, one can understand what the priest is attempting to ascertain: namely, the gravity and extent of the sin (or pattern of sinning) which the penitent has come to confess. The real purpose is not so much to generate shame in the one confessing but rather to assure that the malady is fully exposed to the light of day and thus the light of grace. For that which remained hidden or occulted–not properly confessed–would continue, it was believed, within the sinner, waiting for a new moment to emerge all the more strongly.

These revolutionary developments set the stage for the achievement of Lateran IV and especially for what would follow after it. For indeed, this advance forward in pastoral thinking seems to have remained more on paper (as written words) than something that was actually translated into a generalized pastoral practice. It would take the mendicants, once again, to explicate, propagate, and then demonstrate how these new ideas were to be put into practice.

These new aspects of the ritual of confession, taught in the *studia* of the friars, came to converge and become accentuated by the cultural context of northern and central Italy. Lester Little has keenly noted how three of these cultural phenomena shaped the approach of the mendicants to the celebration of the sacrament.[85] The first formative aspect, borrowed from the theological method being used in the schools, was the notion of dialectic–or better, dialogue–as the path to the discovery of truth. This meant, concretely, the asking of questions, the refining of the subject matter, teasing out of precise distinctions so as to arrive at the ailment that was troubling the penitent. The series of questions used by Robert of Flamborough in his manual for confessors is a perfect exemplification of this method. Once the proper distinctions have been made, the penitent is then confronted with the inglorious nature of one's behavior and the confessor is better

84 Slightly adapted from the translation of Paul Hymans, from Robert's *Liber Poenitentialis*, (ed.) J.J. Francis Firth, Studies and Texts 18 (Toronto: 1971), 195–96, no. 223.

85 Lester K. Little, "Les techniques de la confession et la confession comme technique," in *Faire croire,* 87–99, here at 98–9; and idem, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: 1978), 199–201.

able to minister the healing balm of absolution and the assigning of its just and proper remedy (*satisfactio*). The second cultural influence which began to shape a more pastoral approach to the practice of confession was to transpose the one-to-one, face-to-face moment of confession into a kind of *negotium*: a give-and-take exchange (*commercium*) between priest and penitent. What they are negotiating, as it were–or to put it in commercial terms–what one was buying and selling is the genuine expression of contrition and oral confession by the penitent in exchange for the rewards of absolution, admittance to Eucharist, and, in the long term, eternal life. To put it somewhat crassly, the penitent had something to buy (salvation) and the priest had something to sell (absolution). And thirdly, the confessional moment was also transposed into a lawyer-client relationship wherein the penitent discretely would tell the lawyer the fullness of his or her truth and the priestly advocate would then make intercession on his or her behalf to the Judge of all.

In this new, more pastoral (and horizontal) approach to the sacrament of penance, a much greater emphasis was placed not only on the particular circumstances of the penitent but now, especially with the mendicants, on his or her intentionality in the moment of sinning or in the repetition of patterns of behavior. Much as someone might go to buy cloth from a merchant, it would be natural, if not essential, for the seller to ascertain: what was the purpose of the desired cloth? what was it going to be used for? how much and at what cost? how long must it last? is it for you alone or for others as well? Thus does confession become a moment of exploration and human interaction between two dialogue partners in order that the proper purchase may be made and that it endure over time.

Given the vast preaching assemblies held by the mendicants, particularly in the first half of the 13th century (but keeping in mind the increased internal spaces created by the mendicant form of church architecture after mid-century), it is not surprising that the practice of confessing would take an inordinate amount of time, requiring hosts of friar-confessors. The real value of the mendicant priests was especially demonstrated during those high moments of the liturgical year like Advent and Lent when the faithful flocked to the sacrament. One gets a sense of this quite early on, for example, in the famous account of the results of the preaching of Haymo of Faversham in one of the local churches of Paris, not long after his entrance into the Friars Minor in 1224 or 1225:

> Brother Haymo of Faversham ... a priest and famous preacher ... entered the order with three other masters at [the abbey of] Saint Denis on Good Friday ... On Easter, when Brother Haymo saw such a great number of people in the parish church in which the brothers attended divine services ... he said to the custos ... that if he might dare to do so, he would

> gladly preach to the people lest perhaps they should receive Holy Communion in mortal sin ... He preached, therefore, so movingly that many put off going to Holy Communion until they had gone to confession. Accordingly, he sat in the Church for three days and heard confessions and comforted the people in no small way.[86]

The friars also continued the practice of compiling *summae de casibus* which were then disseminated and used throughout the *studia* of the Friars Preacher and Minor, thereby training them for the important ministry which they were about to undertake in the burgeoning cities. The Dominicans, in particular, were exceptional in this work of compilation, starting with the works of Paul of Hungary[87] and Conrad of Höxter.[88] However, it was the *Summa de casibus conscientiae* of Raymond Peñafort, the Catalonian canonist,[89] which stands out above the rest for its comprehensiveness and clarity. Begun already in 1220–1221 and revised around 1234, Raymond's work became the essential touchstone for almost seventy years when it came to be superceded by the compilation of his confrere, John of Fribourg in 1297–1298.The first such Franciscan work that we know of thus far comes from the pen of the little-known Monaldo da Capodistria (prior to 1274)–a late and undistinguished addition to the canon.[90]

But in these manuals of pastoral care, building upon the practices of the northern prelates, the friars managed to perfect the description of the rite of confession as a real *commercium* between priest and penitent. As Pierre Michaud-Quantin summarizes it, the priest would be instructed, first, to welcome the penitent and establish a relationship with him or her, asking questions about family, age, occupation, etc. With a general understanding of the

86 Thomas of Eccleston, *De Adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam,* (ed.) A.G. Little (Manchester: 1951), c. 6, 27–8 (English trans. by Placid Hermann in XIII*th Century Testimonies* [Chicago: 1961], 120–1).

87 Paul of Hungary, *Summa de poenitentia,* Biblioteca Casinensis 4 (Monte Cassino: 1880), 191–215. See also Pierre Mandonnet, "La '*Summa de poenitentia magistri Pauli presbyteri S. Nicolai*' (*Magister Paulus de Hungaria, O.P., 1220–1221*)", in idem, *Saint Dominique. L'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre,* vol. 1 (Paris: 1938), 249–69; and Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 24ff, passim.

88 "Conradus de Huxaria," in *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 1, (ed.) T. Kappaeli (Rome: 1970), 283–5; and Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 24.

89 Raymond had been studying law at the University of Bologna when, in 1217, he was captivated by the scholarly and ministerial orientation of Dominic's band, new to the city. He subsequently entered the order of Friars Preacher.

90 A *Summa de iure canonico*, cited in Roberto Rusconi, "I Franciscani e la confessione," in *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nell'200,* Società internazionale di studi francescani 8 (Assisi: 1981), 251–309, here at 296–7; and by Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 60–2.

life-context of the penitent before him, he could then begin to probe, through further questioning, those areas where sin and moral failure had led the person off the path of righteousness and sowed discord and unrest within the individual and those around him or her. Finally, having understood, like an excellent physician, the malady of the penitent, he could then explore various potential remedies with the patient and decide upon the correct elixir to bring this penitent's life back into harmony with God, self, and community.[91]

Since confession was such a private act, a ritual enacted in relative privacy, out of earshot and the sight of others, it is extremely difficult to document large numbers of specific cases or instances of the friars' involvement in the ministry of penance. One can only glean such activities from various accounts that testify to the positive results–as the case of Haymo of Faversham illustrated–of their preaching. However, the fact that the primary bone of contention between the mendicants and secular clergy pivoted particularly on the parochial rights of local pastors to serve as *proprii sacerdotes* for their congregants–a right and a duty strongly reaffirmed in canon 21 of Lateran IV–seems to indicate that the friars were indeed entering into the internal forum with members of their parishes, upsetting the established order of the Church and threatening the prerogatives of its ministers.[92] Moreover, the fact that this tension continued to exist throughout the century–and exemplified by the changing position of the papacy, their prime patron, in regard to their pastoral privileges–shows that the faithful likewise continued to flock to the friars for confession because the friars were viewed not simply as anonymous passers-through, but as genuinely trusted shepherds of souls.

11.13 Instructions on the Eucharist and Other Catechetical Tools

As previously noted in the *Liber poentitenialis* of Alan of Lille, preaching, confession, and (re-)admittance to the Eucharist represented a single, unified thrust for the Christian pastor. The mendicants shared this same pastoral orientation. Nevertheless, the vast majority of their writings on pastoral ministry concentrated

91 Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "Méthodes de la pastorale," 90.

92 The bull *Etsi animarum* of Innocent IV (BF, vol. 8 [= *Epitome*], 259–61) scaled back the pastoral freedoms previously accorded to the mendicants. His successor, Alexander IV, former Cardinal Protector of the Minors, reversed this ruling in *Nec insolitum* the following month (22 December). The bull *Ad fructus uberes* of Martin IV (13 December 1281) extended these privileges even further, to the great dismay of the clergy. But it was the bull of Boniface VIII, *Super cathedram* (18 February 1300) which largely resolved the matter to the general satisfaction of both sides in the conflict.

almost exclusively upon the first two components of the triad, probably because both elements were in the process of being significantly reconceived and recast in the new socio-cultural environment of the period. The Eucharist, by contrast, represented the reward for the culmination of an honest confession. While it needed to be defended against the attacks of the Cathars, the mystery of the Eucharist was not so much being reconceptualized as it was being revalued, especially in the light of the canons of Lateran IV where the care, custody and reverence due to the sacrament (and the artifacts associated with it) were strongly emphasized.[93] One thinks, for example, of the emphasis which Francis of Assisi placed on this subject in his writings after 1220.[94]

Hence, when one endeavors to read the pastoral literature on the Eucharist produced in the 13th century, one does not so much find troves of creative treatises on the subject. Rather, what we do find are instructional pieces on how to celebrate the Eucharist correctly and worthily (as celebrant and congregant) as well as meditative writings that draw out the symbolism of the gestures and rituals of the Mass.[95] Hence, we are more in the realm of catechesis than theology.

In a similar vein, another contribution made by mendicant friars to the instruction of the people God in the various aspects of their faith is numerous treatises which aimed to nourish the spiritual lives of the faithful. The friars, for example, wrote expositions on various prayers which Christians were supposed to know by heart in Latin (e.g., the Our Father, the Creed, the Ave Maria). Treatises or meditations on the Ten Commandments and the seven capital sins (and its correlative virtues) were also quite common and particularly apt ways to instruct the faithful, serving as they did as preparatory tools for the examination of conscience and for making a good and thorough confession.[96]

In short, all these writings extended the attempts of the two great mendicant orders to contribute significantly and innovatively to the new approaches to pastoral care and the *cura animarum* for which the first three quarters of the 13th century (and the last quarter of the twelfth) stand as one of the most fertile in the history of the Church.

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93 For example, see: Lateran IV, canons 19 and 20 (in Tanner, 1.244) and the doctrinal reaffirmation on the Eucharist found in canon 1 (ibid., 230–1).

94 In addition to the Long Version of *the Letter to All the Faithful* (FA: ED, vol. 1, 46) as well in as its Short Version (ibid., 41), the theme of the Eucharist (and the care of liturgical artifacts) also appears, for example, in his two *Exhortations to the Clergy* (FA: ED, vol. 1, 52–5, passim); *First* and *Second Letter to the Custodes* (ibid., 56–7 and 60); the *Letter to the Rulers of All Peoples* (ibid., 58–59); and *Admonition* 1 (ibid., 128–9).

95 Cf., Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "Les méthodes de la pastorale," 82–3.

96 Catherine Vincent, "La naissance du curé," 84–5 and 97.

11.14 Conclusion

Scholars wisely caution us that the apostolic work of the Friars Minor and Friars Preacher, impressive and well-documented as it is, does not tell the whole story of the history of priestly ministry and pastoral care in the cities and towns of northern and central Italy during the High Middle Ages. One could indeed garner the impression that, as the mendicants ascended to prominence, visibility, and notoriety during the first half of the century, the work of the secular clergy–pastors who had been sent (*missi*) by their ordaining bishops–had been completely eclipsed by their more mobile and distinctive religious assistants (*commissi*). This would certainly be an exaggeration. While it is true that the historical record–at least as it has hitherto been established–for parish life in medieval Italy is not particularly revelatory with respect to the daily and weekly ministry of local priests among the people, still it must be remembered that the mendicant friars (especially the Dominicans) did most of their apostolic work within the cities rather than out in the countryside. In other words, most of the ministry in the outlying and country parishes would surely have been carried on by their *proprii sacredotes*–and we are rather poorly informed on the efficacy (or not) of priestly ministry in these rural areas. However, we can also assert that, since the local synods had to repeatedly remind the clergy of the mandates of the previous general councils concerning parish life and pastoral duties, the practices and approaches which should have been reformed or transformed for the sake of the spiritual lives of their congregants apparently remained a perennial challenge for the Italian episcopacy. In short, with the exception of a few noteworthy Italian prelates who have left behind a remarkable record of pastoral creativity, fervor and achievement–like Federico Visconti, archibishop of Pisa, Obizone of Sanvitale, bishop of Parma, and Gregory of Montelungo, patriarch of Aquileia (all generally well-disposed to the mendicants)–the vast majority of ordinary secular churchmen (the local clergy) remain in the shadows as to their actual performance and efficacy in the *cura animarum*.[97]

What can be said with relative certainty, however, is that the two great mendicant orders, the Friars Minor and Friars Preacher, were the inheritors of a rich, developing and relatively recent written tradition on pastoral theory and practice that had emerged most especially above the Alps around the turn of the 13th century and into its first decades. These ideas, as we have seen, were

97 Luigi Pellegrini, "Vescovi e ordini mendicanti," in *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia del* XIV *alla metà del* XVI *secolo*, 203–5.

not only the foundation for the comprehensive achievement in pastoral matters at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215; but, passed on and taught in the nascent *studia* of the newly emerging mendicant religious orders, both above as well as below the mountains and coupled with the profound transformations in the culture and spiritual yearnings within the commercializing towns of Italy: all led to the development of a new form of religious word, more horizontal and humanized, propagated by the followers of Francis and Dominic, energizing the masses and bringing spiritual vitality to the practice of a religion long languishing. Founded both upon the penitential message of love of neighbor and justice for the disadvantaged championed by the Friars Minor and the message of correct doctrine and regular practice of the sacramental life of the Church announced by the Friars Preacher, the people of northern and central Italy were the recipients of a new and revitalizing word calling them to conversion of life and practice of their faith. The mendicant friars, assistants, and coadjutors to those regularly sent in accord with the structure of the Church, were thus the most active facilitators of a genuine revolution in the notion of pastoral care and the primary engines of a renewed faith among the people of God in the High Middle Ages.

CHAPTER 12

From Function to Ontology: The Shifting Diaconate of the Middle Ages

William T. Ditewig

12.1 Introduction

The subject of this chapter–the theological and historical account of the diaconate in the Middle Ages–is shrouded in mystery. At best, it can be said that it was a period of extraordinary transition due to multiple factors: shifting theologies of Holy Orders, changing political, societal, and ecclesial landscapes, and the development of new pastoral institutions (such as monastic and conventual ministries), which eventually supplanted the efforts previously provided by deacons. During the Middle Ages, the diaconate transitioned from a mature, respected and even powerful order of ministry into a shadowy, secondary order whose members were in the final stage of preparation for ordination as presbyters. Popular histories of the diaconate often simply pass from its pre-Constantinian "Golden Age" almost immediately into the first hints of a renewed permanent diaconate in the 19th century. The task of this chapter, then, is to cast some light onto this often-overlooked and often mysterious period of diaconal history.

How a Christian church understands a theology of ordained ministry has been a fluid enterprise from the earliest days of the Church. In general, what can be said about the diaconate as an order in its own right? Kenan Osborne once wrote:

> The deacon's office is called an exalted office–in some texts even a 'high and exalted office,' or in one of the Ethiopic manuscripts (Horner's) an 'exalted priesthood.' From the earliest times, the deacon has been seen as a high office or ministry in the Church. Later, it will be called a major order in the Church. The vicissitudes of the diaconate in the Christian Church cannot be denied, but from the early Church onward there has never been a time when the Church had no deacons.[1]

1 Kenan B. Osborne, *Priesthood: A History of the Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church* (New York: 1988), 126.

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By the time the Middle Ages began, the diaconate was already in decline and transition, so it is necessary to turn the clock back a bit further, and offer a snapshot of the so-called "Golden Age" of the diaconate in order to provide the backdrop against which we can examine the fall and transformation of the medieval diaconate.

One further introductory note: I have titled this chapter "From Function to Ontology." This describes the theological trajectory of the period vis-à-vis the sacrament of Holy Orders. As we shall see, the early understanding of what it meant to be a minister in the Christian church was quite "functional": the minister provided a very specific service, or set of services, for a particular community of the faithful. These did not flow from any particular "power" held by the person in isolation from that community. During the Middle Ages, however, this meaning will shift, and ordination will come to refer to the reception of a sacred power by the ordinand–who thereby is changed in his very personhood–and who is then able to exercise that power in any community to which he may be assigned. This change to a more ontological understanding of Holy Orders affects the understanding of all ordained ministry in the Church, and is especially evident in the transformation of the diaconate.

By the time of the Council of Nicaea, the diaconate–as indeed all ministry–had already traced a steady yet varied trajectory; in fact, the Council of Nicaea will address several concerns which had already arisen concerning deacons. Contrasted with the sketchy biblical data available on the diaconate; patristic, conciliar, and canonical testimony abounds. Deacons are found in both urban and rural settings, sometimes serving communities without resident pastors, sometimes serving as part of "teams" of clergy. They were legates and messengers; they were deeply involved in the community's jurisprudence and in the provision of charity. Deacons were responsible for the Church's "temporalities." They served in Rome, Syria, Asia Minor, southern Gaul, and Northern Africa. While primarily assistants to their bishops, some deacons served closely with presbyters. Diaconal functions were varied and, often, extreme pastoral circumstances, such as persecution, led to extraordinary functions being confided to presbyters and deacons in the absence of the bishop.

The study of the ancient diaconate has become quite extensive, and a review of this literature is beyond the scope of the present project.[2] Still, several pre-Nicene themes emerge during this time, which will characterize the diaconate

2 See, for example, Bernard Cooke, *Ministry to Word and Sacraments* (Philadelphia: 1976); Kenan B. Osborne, *Priesthood: A History of the Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church* (New York: 1988); Kenan B. Osborne, *The Diaconate in the Christian Church* (Chicago: 1996); William

throughout its history. Specifically we will consider deacons as part of the emerging clerical caste, the distinctiveness of the diaconal order within the clergy, the association of the deacon with the bishop, and a fairly consistent set of functions associated with the order of deacons.

12.2 The Distinctiveness of the Diaconate

As this clerical caste develops, the distinctiveness of each order becomes more apparent, and this has particular significance for the deacon since it introduces a fundamental distinction between what will become known as the sacerdotal orders (of bishop and presbyter) and the diaconal order. Simply stated: in the ancient and early medieval church, the diaconate is not the priesthood, nor is it a partial, incomplete or minor form of the priesthood. The traditional text here is from the *Apostolic Tradition*, in one of the earliest doctrinal and pastoral statements about the diaconate.[3] The most notable difference between the ordination of bishops and presbyters on the one hand, and deacons on the other, provides an important insight into the nature of the diaconate itself. Unlike the ordination of a bishop, however, in which all bishops present lay hands on the new bishop, and the ordination of a presbyter, in which all presbyters present "touch the one to be ordained," only the bishop lays hands on the deacon.

> When the deacon is ordained, this is the reason why the bishop alone shall lay his hands upon him: his is not ordained to the priesthood but to serve the bishop and to carry out the bishop's commands. He does not take part in the council of the clergy; he is to attend to his own duties and to make known to the bishop such things as are needful. He does not receive that Spirit that is possessed by the presbytery, in which the presbyters share; he receives only what is confided in him under the bishop's authority.[4]

T. Ditewig, *The Emerging Diaconate: Servant Leaders in a Servant Church* (New York: 2007); Nathan Mitchell, *Mission and Ministry: History and Theology in the Sacrament of Order* (Wilmington: 1982); James M. Barnett, *The Diaconate: A Full and Equal Order*, rev. ed. (Valley Forge: 1995); Joseph W. Pokusa, *A Canonical-Historical Study of the Diaconate in the Western Church* (JCD diss., Catholic University of America, 1979); Kenan B. Osborne, *The Permanent Diaconate: Its History and Place in the Sacrament of Orders* (Mahwah: 2007).

3 Everett Ferguson, "Hippolytus," in Ferguson, 531–32; B.R. Suchla, "Hippolytus," in Döpp and Geerlings, 287–89.

4 Burton Scott Easton, trans. and ed., *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus: Translated into English with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge: 1934), 38–39.

The significance of the bishop's action cannot be understated. From the earliest scriptural and patristic evidence, the deacon has been associated in a unique way with the bishop, an association that persists throughout the entire period under study. Nowhere is this relationship made more explicit than in the Syrian *Didascalia Apostolorum*.[5]

> Let the bishops and the deacons, then, be of one mind; and do you shepherd the people diligently with one accord. For you ought both to be one body, father and son; for you are in the likeness of the Lordship. And let the deacon make known all things to the bishop, even as Christ to His Father. But let him order such things as he is able by himself, receiving power from the bishop, as the Lord did from His Father … But the weighty matters let the bishop judge. Yet let the deacon be the hearing of the bishop, and his mouth and his heart and his soul; for when you are both of one mind, through your agreement there will be peace in the Church.[6]
>
> Let the deacon be ready to obey and to submit himself to the command of the bishop. And let him labor and toil in every place whither he is sent to minister or to speak of some matter to anyone. For it behooves each one to know his office and to be diligent in executing it. And be you [bishop and deacon] of one counsel and of one purpose, and one soul dwelling in two bodies.[7]

According to the *Didascalia* deacons participate in a variety of functions associated with the good order, discipline, and administration of the community: among them, the deacon assists in the administration of justice.[8]

One other function the deacon performs will be echoed in later developments: namely, the welcoming and "certification" of new members of the community:

> If anyone come in from another place, bringing recommendatory letters, let the deacon be the judge of the affair, inquiring whether they be of the faithful, and of the Church, whether they be not defiled by heresy, and besides, whether the party be a married woman or a widow. And when

5 See B. Steimer, "Didascalia," in Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings, *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (New York: 2000), 171–72.

6 R. Hugh Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version* (Oxford: 1929), 109.

7 Ibid., 148.

8 Ibid., 111.

> he is satisfied in the things of the Lord, let him conduct everyone to the place proper to him.[9]

The deacon does all this because of the authority given to him from the bishop, both through the laying on of hands and also by specific assignments given to him by the bishop. Pierre Jounel writes, "All ordination rituals that have been used in the Church flow from that given by Hippolytus ... the Roman liturgy has always prescribed the rites to which the *Apostolic Tradition* assigns normative value ..."[10]

The ancient assertion that deacons are not ordained to priesthood but to service (especially associated with the bishop) has remained rather consistent throughout the history of the diaconate, while the cultural, canonical, and theological contexts within which this claim has been made have varied greatly. Furthermore, as this early insight into the deacon's ordination attests, there is nothing of the ontological involved. As we shall see shortly, this understanding will shift greatly as the Church develops a new understanding of the Eucharist and the presbyter's role in it. For now it suffices to state simply that, as the meaning of ordained ministry begins to revolve around the Eucharistic celebration, the understanding develops that one's ministry is "ranked" according to one's liturgical role. So, by the 12th century, the priest will be at the top because he is the one empowered to offer the sacrifice; deacons and subdeacons serve closely with the presbyter so they too are subordinate, but major, orders. Other ministers, whose duties did not take them to the altar itself, were simply not to be understood as "ordained" in any sacramental sense. Hence, the deacon will become understood in priestly terms because of his liturgical relationship with the priest during Eucharist. After the 12th century, then, a deacon was understood more as a lesser kind of "priest" than as a member of a distinct order of ministry.

John St. H. Gibaut has traced the development of the *cursus honorum* (also known as sequential ordination) and found that even between 715 and 974, at least ten popes were ordained bishop directly from the diaconate and "were never ordained priests at all."[11] The explosive shift of meaning that takes place

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9 R. Hugh Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version* (Oxford: 1929), 111.

10 Pierre Jounel, "Ordinations," in *The Church at Prayer, Volume* III*: The Sacraments*, A.G. Martimort, gen. ed. (Collegeville, MN: 1988), 144.

11 John St. H. Gibaut,*The "Cursus Honorum": A Study of the Origins and Evolution of Sequential Ordination*, Patristics Studies 3 (New York: 2000), 255, cited by Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford: 2008), 25.

in the 12th century to a presbytero-centric hermeneutic for all orders will greatly affect all ministry, especially ordained ministry, to the present day. As the Middle Ages began, then, to be "ordained" meant to be brought into an *ordo* of ministry to fulfil certain varied sacred functions within and on behalf of the local church, functions in the case of deacons which are reminiscent and evocative of the ministry of Christ. Any power involved derives from the Spirit through the relationship of service established by ordination into a particular community.

Deacons served a variety of liturgical, administrative, and executive functions, whether as a representative of the bishop (or the entire community), or in supervising the care of those in need: bridging, connecting, feeding, and assisting. For ease of reference, Table 12.1 summarizes the functions of deacons as we move into the Middle Ages.

TABLE 12.1 *Historical summary of Diaconal Functions, Part I* (*to Nicaea*) (*James M. Barnett,* The Diaconate, *124–25; W.T. Ditewig,* Emerging Diaconate, *62–65*)

Paul/Pastorals	***Diakonos* as co-worker with *apostolos* or *episkopos*; emissary, messenger. Proven spiritual, community leaders. (Rom 16:1; Phil 1:1; 1 Tim 3)**
c. 95	Ministry of teaching and prophecy; linked with *episkopoi*. (*Didache*)
c. 95	Possibly constitute with the bishops the ruling council in some churches. (*Didache*, also Ignatius and Polycarp)
c. 96	Part of divinely-ordered structure; overall community leadership in support/collaboration with bishop. (Clement, Ignatius)
c. 115	Symbolize Jesus Christ; linked with *episkopoi* and *presbyteroi*; act as an agent or ambassador of the Church; serve with bishops and presbyters as part of the community's ruling council; minister the chalice; proclaim the Gospel; announce parts of the Eucharistic service; serve the entire *ecclesia*. (Ignatius)
c. 140	Administer the distribution of alms to the poor and needy. (*Shepherd of Hermas*)
c. 150	Serve as part of the community's ruling council. (Polycarp)
c. 185	Administer the Eucharistic Bread and Wine to all present at the Eucharistic assembly and to those absent; minister of church's *communio*. (Justin Martyr)
c. 200	The apostolic roots of church order; initial association of deacons with the Seven. (Irenaeus)

TABLE 12.1 *Historical summary of Diaconal Functions, Part I* (*to Nicaea*) (contd.)

Paul/Pastorals	***Diakonos* as co-worker with *apostolos* or *episkopos*; emissary, messenger. Proven spiritual, community leaders. (Rom 16:1; Phil 1:1; 1 Tim 3)**
c. 200	Be the "eyes" of the bishop in all matters but especially in discovering the pastoral and moral needs of the people; keep order in the assembly; report the sick to the congregation for their visits and help. (*Pseudo-Clementines*)
c. 200	Baptize on a par with presbyters (both need bishop's authorization). (Tertullian)
c. 215	Instruct the people at weekday *agape* assemblies; bless bread at Christian fellowship meals in the bishop's absence; *leiturgia* reason for ordination; the servant of the bishop; identify the sick to the bishop; instruct clergy and others; be responsible for the cemetery. (Hippolytus)
c. 235	"Shepherd the people" with the bishop; the bishop's "hearing, mouth, heart, soul"; bishop and deacon as father and son; deacons and presbyters serve with bishop in administration of justice; guard the doors and keep order among the people at the Eucharist; announce a bidding to the people at the Eucharist. (*Didascalia Apostolorum*)
c. 250	City of Rome divided into seven administrative regions, each assigned to a deacon (and subdeacon) for overall administration. (Fabian)
c. 250	Extraordinary ministers of reconciliation; overall dispensation of church's goods, especially to the poor. (Cyprian)
c. 300	Encourage contributions for those in need; maintain good order and discipline: "instruct, persuade, admonish, rebuke."(*Apostolic Church Order*)
c. 306	On occasion, head small, rural congregations; baptize when in charge of such a congregation; distribute communion to the dying *with presbyter or bishop's permission*. (Elvira)
c. 314	Prior to Arles, some deacons may have presided at the Eucharist, probably under extraordinary circumstances and in the absence of a bishop (or presbyter?)(forbidden at Arles); deacons now to do nothing "without the presbyter's knowledge." (Arles)
c. 325	Deacons not to preside at Eucharist; subordinate to presbyters. (Nicaea)

12.3 The Deacon, the Cursus Honorum and the Council of Nicaea

Although the diaconate was a vital and important ministry, "the seeds of diaconal decline were already planted with the rise of sacerdotalism in the third century and the restrictive legislation of the early fourth century. A confusion of roles between deacons and 'priests' and a struggle for identity continued into the Middle Ages."[12] During the fourth century, due in part to Christianity's new relationship with the empire, Christian public life gradually took on the trappings and structures of the state. The considerable flexibility and diversity of pastoral practice, especially with regard to the various *ordines* of ministry, which had existed prior to the Constantinian era, was about to give way to new realities. John St. H. Gibault, in his study of the *cursus honorum*, observes:

> While sequential ordination was practiced in the pre-Constantinian Church, there is no evidence that such movement was either prescriptive or normative. In contrast, from the time of the Peace of the Church in the early fourth century sequential movement from one grade to another, the *cursus honorum*, became a prescribed and increasingly normative feature of the Church's ordered ministry.[13]

The reasons for this shift are clear: now a formal part of the highly structured Roman empire, Christian communities could no longer operate with such autonomy. Concerns were raised about the suitability and competence of certain ecclesial office-holders, and the solution was found in extending the imperial *cursus honorum* into ecclesiastical life. According to Gibault, "the custom was familiar enough to Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries; for centuries the imperial civil and military services had used such progression through the grades or ranks as a means of selection, training, and testing."[14] This schema of "professional development" found ready adaptability within emerging structures of church governance, especially as church officials became increasingly involved in imperial administration following Constantine. How does this affect the diaconate? Simply stated, the diaconate becomes one more "rung" on this ecclesial ladder. One author concludes succinctly, "The decline of the diaconate springs more from the development of the idea of *cursus honorum* than from any other single factor."[15]

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12 Edward P. Echlin, *The Deacon in the Church: Past and Future* (Staten Island, NY: 1971), 61.

13 John St. H. Gibault, *The "Cursus Honorum"*, 59.

14 John St. H. Gibault, *The "Cursus Honorum",* 61–62.

15 Barnett, *The Diaconate*, 104.

Of the twenty canons of Nicaea I, the majority touch on aspects of church order and governance.[16] While none of them calls for the full-blown *cursus honorum* which is to come, certain concerns are highlighted; while some of these had been addressed by earlier local councils, here we find the first general council taking them up as well. There is growing concern over a person's readiness and competence to serve in church office, and there is also concern over those being ordained for one church after coming from another. In short, how can the rights and responsibilities of local churches be respected within the new realities occasioned by the restored civil rights and status being extended to Christian communities throughout the empire? Nicaea addresses this in Canon 15, which decrees that bishops, presbyters, and deacons must not move from city to city. If they do, their actions will be void and they are to return to the church for which they were ordained. Canon 16 repeats this decree and adds that should someone from another church be ordained without the consent of the ordinand's bishop, such an ordination is invalid. Gaudemet writes that these concerns will continue:

> we ought to notice how anxious the councils were to ensure respect for the framework of the diocese. There are many decrees, varied in origin but alike in purpose, which remind the bishop that he must not ordain clerics from another church … The frequency with which reminders had to be given is in itself proof of the difficulty in getting it observed. These encroachments have been regarded as evidence of the difficulties encountered in recruitment for the priesthood in some areas, which encouraged bishops to look beyond their own borders.[17]

The process, by which the diaconate became understood as subordinate to the presbyterate, was quite gradual. The Council of Nicaea (canon 18) clarifies the emerging relationship between presbyters and deacons:

> It has come to the attention of this holy and great synod that in some places and cities deacons give communion to presbyters, although neither canon nor custom allows this, namely that those who have no authority to offer should give the body of Christ to those who do offer. Moreover it has become known that some of the deacons now receive the eucharist even before the bishops. All these practices must be suppressed. Deacons must remain within their own limits, knowing that they are the ministers

16 For the text of the canons, see Tanner, vol. 1.

17 Gaudemet, 186.

> of the bishop and subordinate to the presbyters. Let them receive the eucharist according to their order after the presbyters from the hands of the bishop or the presbyter. Nor shall permission be given for the deacons to sit among the presbyters, for such an arrangement is contrary to the canon and to rank. If anyone refuses to comply even after these decrees, he is to be suspended from the diaconate.[18]

This clerical stratification, while frequently noted as presbyter *over against* deacon, will eventually extend to the bishop over presbyter as well. Consequently, while the pre-Nicene deacon was clearly identified as the bishop's assistant, by the 5th century the deacon was often the presbyter's assistant, with the presbyter clearly subordinate to the bishop. This is seen most graphically in the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* (c. 475) wherein Hippolytus' declaration that the deacon is ordained *non ad sacerdotium sed in ministerio episcopi* is modified by removing the reference to the bishop. Now the deacon is ordained *non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium*, since the deacon is the servant of all in the sacerdotal orders. To remove any doubt on this point, the *Statuta* states, "Thus the deacon shall know he is the presbyter's minister as well as the bishop's."[19]

12.4 Medieval Church: Isidore to Gratian

Throughout the 4th and 5th centuries, deacons still perform important services for the Church. For example, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, dated between 375–400 AD, report that deacons continue in a number of critical ministries.[20] Deacons were to be a part of the bishop's "judgements" on the second day of the week; deacons were responsible for welcoming new members into the community after assessing their "references." The *Apostolic Church Order*, most probably written in Egypt at the beginning of the 4th century,[21] directs that three deacons were to be appointed for legal reasons: "There shall be three deacons for 'by three shall every matter be established'."[22] The diaconate, however, was declining. Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) emphasized the deacons' liturgical functions when he reminded his deacons that "the minister of the Lord

18 Tanner, 1.14–15.

19 Munier, *Concilia Galliae*, 148:175, 181.

20 See B. Steimer, "Apostolic Constitutions," in Döpp and Geerlings, *Dictionary,* 44, for date.

21 See ibid. for date.

22 Adolf Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, trans. John Owen (London: 1895), 17.

should abstain from wine so that he may be upheld by the great witness not only of the faithful, but also of those who are without ... He who sees the minister of the altar adorned with suitable virtues may praise their author, and reverence the Lord who has such servants."[23]

The fact that Jerome (d. 419) was no fan of deacons is well known. Now we begin to hear of the *power* associated with the presbyterate, a power not shared with deacons. In the midst of Jerome's anti-diaconal rant, one may detect a shift to a more ontological understanding of ordination:

> We read in Isaiah: "the fool speaks folly" (Is 32:6). I am told that someone has been mad enough to put deacons before presbyters, that is, before bishops. For when the apostle clearly teaches that presbyters are the same as bishops must not a mere server of tables and of widows be insane to set himself up arrogantly over men through whose prayers the body and blood of Christ are made present?[24]

Jerome also reminds deacons (and others) that when clerics are ordained, the normal path is for a deacon to be subsequently ordained a presbyter, not the other way around even though he mentions that the pay is better as a deacon; other writers will echo this argument: presbyterate follows diaconate, never diaconate following presbyterate.

Augustine, however, presented a more positive portrait of deacons in *De catechizandis rudibus*. He writes, "You have informed me that in Carthage, where you hold the position of deacon, persons who have to be taught the Christian faith from very rudiments are frequently brought to you by reason of your enjoying a reputation of possessing a rich gift in catechizing ..."[25] Another deacon from Carthage wrote to Augustine for advice, Quadvultdeus, revealing that deacons were preaching the Lenten homilies to catechumens.[26] Clearly deacons

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23 Ambrose of Milan, "On the Duties of the Clergy," in *Select Works and Letters* (New York: 1896), 41.

24 Jerome, "To Evangelius," in *The Principal Works of St. Jerome* (New York: 1893), 288–89; the Latin edition is *Epistola apologetica*, in PL 188, 1192: Legimus in Isaia: *Fatuus fatua loquetur* (32:6). Audio quemdam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut Diaconos, Presbyteris, id est, Episcopis anteferret. Nam cum Apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse Presbyteros quos Episcopos, quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi Corpus Sanguisque conficitur?

25 Augustine, "On the Catechising of the Uninstructed," in NPNF, (ed.) Philip Schaff, vol. 3, *St. Augustine On the Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises* (Grand Rapids, MI: 1956), 283.

26 Thomas M. Finn (ed.) *Quadvultdeus of Carthage: The Creedal Homilies* (Mahwah, NJ: 2004).

in Carthage were highly involved in ministries of the Word. The evidence suggests that at least some deacons shared in the responsibility for the catechesis of the community, although Deogratias and Quodvultdeus may have had unique roles in that regard. At least one commentator has found evidence for catechesis as a function of the deacon as early as 1 Timothy; certainly catechesis would remain a part of the deacon's responsibilities if he were serving in a community without presbyters or bishop.[27]

For a time, medieval legislation recognized that a deacon could serve parishes, usually in remote areas, in the absence of presbyters and bishops.[28] Joseph Pokusa writes, "As late as 506, legislation from the Council of Agde [France] took into account deacons in charge of churches and indicates such deacons exercised limited authority in fiscal matters on par with presbyters who were in charge of churches."[29] The Council of Toledo (597) also refers to this possibility, although the practice appears to have died out at approximately this time.[30] Beyond this, specific diaconal functions are unknown.

Increasingly, however, the role of the deacon is legislated as one subordinate to the presbyter. Subordinate to the presbyter in the celebration of the Eucharist, he is now subordinate to the presbyter in extraliturgical functions as well. Beginning around the 5th century, the care of the poor began to be handled by other ministers, including orders of religious women and men, despite some notable exceptions. Eventually, as on observer writes, "The deacons were more and more confined to the cathedral and they lived like canons singing vespers and psalms day and night."[31] From this time on, and with a few notable exceptions, what relatively scant references to the diaconate are found reflect an order almost totally subordinate to the presbyterate and one that largely

27 Jerome H. Neyrey, "1 Timothy," in *The Collegeville Bible Commentary*, (eds.) Dianne Bergant and Robert J. Harris (Collegeville, MN: 1989), 1203.

28 Interestingly, deacons remained capable of holding a pastorate until the promulgation of the 1917 Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law, where c. 453 decreed, "Ut quis in parochum valide assumatur, debet esse in sacro presbyteratus ordine constitutus." T. Bouscaren, in a 1934 commentary on c. 453 in *Canon Law Digest,* states that a deacon who had received a pastorate prior to the 1917 Code could still legitimately hold the pastorate; however, after the Code, no deacons could now be given a pastorate (T. Bouscaren,"Canon 453," *Canon Law Digest 1* (*1934*), 246).

29 Ibid., 73, n. 41, citing *Concilia Galliae* AD *314*–AD *506,* CCSL 148, (ed.) C. Munier (Turnhout: 1963), 225.

30 Ibid., 74, n. 43.

31 Norbert Brockman, *Ordained to Service: A Theology of the Permanent Diaconate* (Hicksville, NY: 1976), citing Tibor Horvath, "Theology of a New Diaconate," in *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 496 (1968), 509.

ceremonial and liturgical. This will remain largely the case until the contemporary renewal. Peter the Chanter (1191) put this role in perspective by calling the deacon "a secretary at the altar."[32]

From a canonical perspective, however, more can be added to the medieval portrait of the deacon. Joseph Pokusa refers to the canonical history extending from Isidore of Seville (d. 636) to Gratian (12th Century) as "an era of marked decrease in canonical sources treating of deacons. It is not, however, without its own important contributions to an ever-evolving Western diaconate."[33] Following Pokusa, then, we shall address the liturgical diaconate and its tasks, culminating in Gratian's treatment of the diaconate in the final push toward a scholastic ontological view of order.

Three texts best summarize the deacon's liturgical functions: the pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*, Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and the pseudo-Isidorian *Epistola ad Leudefredum*. In all three, an exclusively liturgical diaconate is described (although as we shall see shortly, the growing extraliturgical functions of the archdiaconate will also be addressed in the *Epistola ad Leudefredum*). Isidore, in his own text, focused on finding scriptural antecedents, both Old and New Testaments, for each of the seven orders. The treatment of the diaconate was therefore exclusively Levitical. David Power notes, "By taking this starting point, Isidore opened the way for theology to link the notion of the priesthood very closely and almost exclusively with that of sacrifice."[34] In such an approach, there is no alternative except for the deacon to serve as an assistant only, analogous to the role of the Jewish Levites. "For Isidore, the deacon is the liturgical assistant *par excellence*."[35]

Throughout the rest of this long era of canonical development, the diaconate was "canonized" into a purely subordinate, liturgical role. Pokusa observed: "While, for his part, Gratian had in fact added nothing new, he assured the normalcy of the deacon's subordination. The decretists, for their part, were able to express the medieval dearth of deacons without suggesting they considered it a great loss so long as the bishop enjoyed the ministry of deacons due his office."[36] Table 12.2 summarizes many of the functions of deacons following Nicaea.

32 Brockman, *Ordained to Service*, 28–29.

33 Pokusa, *A Canonical-Historical Study of the Diaconate,* 135.

34 David N. Power, *Ministers of Christ and His Church* (London: 1969), 83.

35 Pokusa, *A Canonical-Historical Study of the Diaconate,* 151.

36 Ibid., 208.

TABLE 12.2 *Historical summary of Diaconal Functions, Part II* (*after Nicaea*) (*James M. Barnett,* The Diaconate, *124–25; W.T. Ditewig,* Emerging Diaconate, *62–65*)

c. 325	**Deacons not to preside at Eucharist; deacons subordinate to presbyters. (Nicaea)**
c. 380	Announce various stages of the Eucharist; proclaim the Gospel at the Eucharist; bid the prayers of the people at the Eucharist; announce the kiss of peace; represent their bishop at synods in latter's absence; preside with other ministers when quarrels among Christians were adjudicated; investigate and welcome newcomers; assist at Baptism (notice change in role from c. 200) (*Apostolic Constitutions*)
c. 400	Responsible for catechesis. (Augustine)
c. 475	Counselor of the whole clergy; minister to "sick, stranger, widow, orphans, those in need"; responsible for catechesis; responsible for burying the dead (as in Hippolytus)(*Testament of Our Lord*)
c. 475	Subordinate to bishops and presbyters; ordained *non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium* (note change from Hippolytus' *non ad sacerdotium sed in ministerio episcopi*). (*Statuta Ecclesiae Antiquae*)
c. 506	Head parishes (as at Elvira); authority in fiscal management of parish identical to that of presbyters. (Council of Agde)
c. 597	Head parishes (as at Elvira and Agde); practice in decline. (Council of Toledo)

12.5 Ordination Rituals and the Diaconate

Throughout this long period, surviving ordination rituals offer their own insights. The classic text traditionally associated with the ordination of deacons is Acts 6:1–6. There are three major liturgical elements found in the passage: the role and responsibility of the community to choose the appropriate ministers for itself ("full of the Spirit and of wisdom"), the prayer of the apostles, and the imposition of hands. In varying degrees, these three elements have remained in subsequent rites of ordination. In considering the question of what the meaning of this ordination might be, especially in terms of function and ontology, it is interesting that Peter states his intention to appoint (*καταστήσομεν*) the selected men "over this task" (*ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης*). They are not being given any particular or personal power, other than the Spirit and wisdom they already possess, and their assignment is clear and functional. The focus of Acts 6–8 is not on the persons of the ministers themselves, but rather

on the actions of the Spirit in carrying out whatever tasks are being undertaken on behalf of the community.

We have previously discussed the significance of the ancient diaconal ordination ritual offered in the *Apostolic Tradition*. We turn now to the medieval ordination rites; in particular, we shall consider several of the great medieval sets of sacramentaries: the Leonine, the Veronese, and a later edition of the Gregorian. Prior to this, however, it will be helpful to examine briefly some of the terminology which will be encountered.

12.6 Terms Associated with Ordination in the Patristic Period

Pierre Jounel writes, "In approaching the study of the liturgy of ordinations ... it is important to know in advance what precise meaning the patristic period gave to the words *ordo*, *ordinatio*, and *ordinare* and their Greek equivalents."[37] Jounel stresses that the original meanings of these terms as used by the early church must be kept in mind as we examine the development of the rite.

Ordo, meaning "corps" or "order," was a common term in the civil and social life of the community, referring to any distinct sub-group within the larger community which performed some specific function at the service of the community. Roman senators, for example, were referred to corporately as *ordo clarissimus*, a group distinct (*clarus*) from the community they governed. Jounel and Herman A.J. Wegman both point out that this distinction is further verified by the common use of the expression *ordo populusque* ("the order and the people") to identify the entire community, composed of those governed and the corps of those who govern.[38] *Ordo*, after its adoption by the Christian community, soon developed a less collective denotation. Rather than the entire corps of clerics, the term came to apply to the various ranks within the clergy, such as the *ordo episcoporum* ("the order of bishops") and the *ordo presbyterorum* ("the order of presbyters").

Ordinatio, also borrowed from civil practice, described the public appointment of a person to an *ordo*. It communicated the person's new relationships within the community's social structure as a whole, and identified the person as a member of a specific order. Yves Congar once wrote, "instead of signifying, as happened from the beginning of the twelfth century, the ceremony in which an individual received a power henceforth possessed in such a way that it

37 Jounel, "Ordinations," 139.

38 Ibid., 140, and Herman A.J. Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History* (New York: 1985), 138.

could never be lost, the words *ordinare*, *ordinari*, *ordinatio* signified the fact of being designated and consecrated to take up a certain place, or better a certain function, *ordo*, in the community and at its service."[39]

Congar found many examples of the use of the term *ordinatio* within secular society as well as the Church. He specifically cites Charlemagne, Otto II, and Otto III as being "ordained" in the language of their contemporaries: "'To be ordained' was the official formula of the Capetians for their coronations."[40] Moreover, "For them [medieval canonists] *ordinare* and *ordinatio* did not bear a sacramental reference. The election of the pope, the nomination of archdeacon, and the canonical institution given to a monk to enable him to take charge of a parish are all described as *ordinatio*."[41]

Gary Macy, following Congar and others, offers a significant insight when he cautions that when evaluating the historical data on the nature of ordination, care must be taken to interpret the sacramental and theological meaning of that act through the lens of the contemporaries of the act. How did these communities understand what they were doing when they celebrated these rituals? Macy's analysis is on point:

> Ordination comprised a much larger group of ministries in the early Middle Ages, including ministries reserved for women. Given the understanding that prevailed in the early centuries of the Middle Ages in western Christianity, a woman was just as ordained (as a deaconess or an abbess, for instance) as a man (as a priest or a deacon). One should not assume, therefore, that all references to 'clerics' or 'the ordained' from that period imply only men. Women were frequently also referred to as ordained and occasionally as clerics.[42]

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39 Yves Congar, "My Path-Findings in the Theology of Laity and Ministries," *The Jurist* 32 (1972): 169–88.

40 Yves Congar, "Note sur une valeur des terms 'ordinare, ordinatio'," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 58 (1984), 8.

41 Gerard Fransen, "The Tradition in Medieval Canon Law," in *The Sacrament of Holy Orders: Some Papers and Dicussions concerning Holy Orders at a Session of the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, 1955* (London: 1962), 203–04.

42 Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New York: 2008), 35, n. 77. For additional reviews of the considerable historical data and contemporary debates on the issue of women and the diaconate, see also, Gary Macy, William T. Ditewig, and Phyllis Zagano, *Women Deacons: Past, Present, Future* (Mahwah: 2012); Phyllis Zagano, *Holy Saturday: An Argument for the Restoration of the Female Diaconate in the Catholic Church* (New York: 2000); Kevin Madigan and Carolyn Osiek (eds.) *Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History* (Baltimore: 2005).

Within this broad tapestry of ministry, *ordo* became understood rather early as something quite particular and specific, and it is often referenced in both liturgy and law as a *title* or *office*. The cleric was an integral part of the structure of the local church, and the meaning of ordination was to be found within that local church, not in some personal quality or attribute that would be "portable" to another local church. In the words of Gaudemet:

> The cleric was, actually, ordained to take over a definite office. The Council of Chalcedon (cc. 8 and 18) forbade the ordination of candidates who had no title (c. 6). Numerous conciliar provisions re-affirm the cleric's attachment to his own church [Arles, 314, c. 2; Sardica, 343, cc. 15, 18; Rome, 378, c. 14; Carthage, 397, c. 37; Toledo, 400, c. 12; Chalcedon, 451, cc. 5, 20; Angers, 453, 1; Tours, 460, c. 11; Vannes, 465, c.5], and the abundance of legislation on this point leads us to surmise that it was as well to have it frequently renewed ...[43]

With regard to deacons, Gaudemet observes that there was considerable legislation reminding deacons of the limits of their powers, suggesting that at least in some locations, deacons were exceeding them. The Council of Arles, for example, refers several times to the practice of deacons offering the sacrifice, and the council took pains to forbid them from doing so.[44] As we have seen already, bishops searching for additional ministers within his own local church were frequently cautioned about recruiting outside their own dioceses, nor were they to ordain persons from outside their dioceses.[45]

In short, then, all clerics, including the deacons, were to be installed into a particular *ordo* within a particular community (*ecclesia*) to carry out a very specific set of tasks. No one was to be ordained without such a clear-cut pastoral need. However, this system began to break down in the face of economic and societal transitions, leading Gerard Fransen to write, "This unity and stability broke down under the feudal system. Ordination without title was introduced, and not a few 'wandering clerics' began to make their appearance."[46]

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43 J. Gaudemet, "Holy Orders in Early Conciliar Legislation (IVth and Vth centuries)," in *The Sacrament of Holy Orders*, 193–94.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Fransen, "The Tradition in Medieval Canon Law," 205.

Early Medieval Roman Rituals

The ancient prayers associated with ordinations in the rituals from the 5th to the 8th centuries are contained in the Leonine Sacramentary (*c.*500, a codex from the Verona collection of liturgical manuscripts), the Verona Sacramentary (*c.*560) and the Gregorian Sacramentary (*c.*610).[47] These prayers have remained essentially the same to the present day, except for the prayer for the consecration of a bishop, which was replaced in 1968 by the prayer given in the *Apostolic Tradition*.

Group XXVIII of the Leonine Sacramentary refers to the *consecratio episcopi* ("consecration of a bishop"), *benedictio super diaconos* ("blessing over deacons"), and *consecratio presbyteri* ("consecration of a presbyter"). Note the obvious distinction in the titles of the prayers themselves: while the bishop and priest are "consecrated" the deacon is "blessed." However, the sequence of these actions is also significant: the blessing of deacons follows closely the consecration of bishops. In other words, the diaconate is bound to the episcopate, and while it is presented as a separate and distinct order, it is subordinate to and dependent upon the bishop. The actual prayer for the ordination of a deacon follows the same pattern used in the prayers for a bishop and priest. First, the bishop refers to the hierarchy as a gift from God to the Church. Second, the bishop invokes the Spirit on the ordinand. Lastly, the bishop prays that the new minister be given the strength to carry out his new responsibilities. While the title ascribed to the action varies, the substantive content of the prayers is quite similar.

The same pattern is consistent with the later manuscript from the same collection known as the Verona Sacramentary. Again the blessing over the deacon is placed between the consecration of a bishop and a priest, and the prayers again describe the hierarchy as a gift of God to the Church, given for the service of the Church and the needs of the people. The deacon is designated a special assistant to the bishop, who alone possesses the fullness of the ministry.

In the Gregorian Sacramentary, the dialogue between the bishop and a representative of the people concerning the worthiness of the candidate for ordination is specified. Following the rite of election, the candidates for ordination and the people pray together before the bishop (alone, in the case of the ordination of a deacon) imposes hands on the head of the ordinand.

In the specific formulae for diaconal ordination, the reality that the diaconate is becoming increasingly confined to liturgical functions may be discerned.

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47 While space does not permit a comprehensive analysis of each ordinal, the sources provided in Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington, DC: 1986), especially 144–91, are especially helpful. See also, Jounel, "Ordinations," 153–72.

Echlin writes, "The great Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries referred to deacons, but it is clear from their writings that the permanent diaconate was declining."[48] The emergence of the *cursus honorum* is also finding its way into the rites of ordination. At the end of each consecratory prayer, the Spirit is called down upon the newly-ordained so that they may perform their duties well, and ultimately advance to a higher degree (*dignisque successibus de inferiori gradu per gratiam tuam caperre potiora mereantur*). There are now found references to the ancient order of Levites who served in the Jewish Temple. References to presbyters as the successors to the Aaronic priesthood and deacons as the Levites of the new covenant may still be found in today's ritual, having also been found in the canonical literature between the time of Isidore of Seville and Gratian. It should be noted that language related to a sacred *power* begins to be found in the ordination rituals for presbyters, signaling the theological shift to a more ontological foundation. This reflects the introduction of such a shift in extraliturgical literature as well.[49]

The rites of diaconal ordination in these sources echo the key components found in the *Apostolic Tradition*. There is first the ratification of the ordinand by the community. This was followed by a prayer of petition by the entire assembly; the imposition of hands by the bishop on the ordinand (in silence); the prayer of consecration; the kiss of peace given by the bishop and exchanged by the newly-ordained deacon with the fellow members of the diaconal order; and the newly-ordained's first participation in the Eucharist as deacon.

The period from the 6th to the 10th centuries has been called "the center of gravity in the Western liturgy."[50] The blending of Roman ritual with Franco-German influence will create rites of ordination which were codified by the Council of Trent and retained almost unchanged until the revisions of 1968. Jounel explains: "Romano-Frankish usage replaced a liturgy that combined simplicity and depth with a set of rites whose purpose was to show what effects grace and sacramental power have on those who receive them."[51] Therefore this revised liturgy is more graphic and, in a sense, more theatrical: prayers are interrupted to insert other rituals to act out the meaning of the prayer. In the ordination of a deacon, this liturgy emphasizes the investiture of

48 Echlin, *The Deacon in the Church*, 64.

49 See, for example, Bernard Cooke, *Ministry to Word and Sacraments* (Philadelphia: 1976); Kenan B. Osborne, *Priesthood: A History of the Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church* (New York: 1988); Nathan Mitchell, *Mission and Ministry: History and Theology in the Sacrament of Order* (Wilmington, DE: 1982).

50 Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West*, 204.

51 Jounel, "Ordinations," 164.

the new deacon in his liturgical garb and the presentation of the Book of the Gospels. These innovations parallel similar additions to the rituals of episcopal and presbyteral ordinations, which now included anointings, presentation of insignia of office, and investiture. In a later edition of the Gregorianum, for example, mention is made of the Litany of Saints being prayed before the ordination itself, and an additional prayer is provided for use when the deacon is invested with the stole.[52]

Similar accretions to the rite would continue over the succeeding centuries. As Susan Wood points out, the rites of ordination used until the revisions of 1968, which had been promulgated by Pope Clement VIII in 1595, were little more than a compilation of texts and ceremonies from several earlier sources, reflecting doctrinal and cultural influences from the fifth to the end of the 13th century. Essential rites, such as the laying on of hands, were buried under secondary rites.[53]

12.7 The Archdiaconate

We cannot discuss the diaconate of the Middle Ages without addressing the archdiaconate. Because of the *extraordinary* nature of the archdiaconate, most writers on the diaconate itself tend to examine the office rather cursorily; more about that in a moment. For our purposes, however, it seems that what happens with the archdiaconate reflects the shifting nature of ordained ministry, especially of the diaconate and presbyterate, throughout this period. The connection of the deacon to the bishop has taken many forms throughout history. As seen above, this relationship was fundamental in the patristic era. As the Church grew and achieved greater structural stability during the Constantinian era certain structures of governance began to emerge; one of them was that of the archdiaconate, emerging from this fundamental relationship of the deacon as the bishop's principal aide. The development of the archdiaconate is well-documented canonically and can serve us well here, with two cautions.

First, it is clear that the role of archdeacon was an *extraordinary* development of the diaconate; not every deacon became an archdeacon, and not every deacon aspired to that office. Therefore it will be necessary to go slowly in deducing facts about the general or "ordinary" diaconate from this exceptional form of ministry and governance. Medieval developments regarding the structure known as the archdiaconate need not necessarily imply a commensurate

52 Ibid., 159.

53 Susan K. Wood, *Sacramental Orders* (Collegeville, MN: 2000), xi–xii.

development in the order of the diaconate. Second, in this discussion it will be necessary to bear in mind the critical distinction between *order* (*ordo*) and *office* (*officium*). We discussed the origins of these terms above, and as terms of *ordo* and *officium* develop in the canonical literature, an important distinction is introduced. *Order*, simply, refers to the community of all ordained ministers who share a given *ordo* or "rank": the *ordo* of deacons, for example, or the *ordo* of presbyters or the *ordo* of bishops.

An *office* is an ecclesiastical position established to provide some kind of stable service or function for the Church. To illustrate the distinction, consider the role of the pastor of a parish. "Pastor" (*parochus*) is an office; not everyone becomes a pastor, nor is just anyone eligible or capable of serving in that office. Under longstanding canon law, the office of pastor may only be filled by someone who is in the *ordo presbyterorum*, the Order of Presbyters. Similarly, the papacy is an "office"; no one is "ordained" to the papacy. The office of pope is filled by the person who has been ordained into the Order of Bishops and further is in the office of Bishop of Rome. The pope, then, is in the *ordo episcoporum* and the holder of two "offices": that of diocesan bishop of Rome, and consequently, the papacy. In short, one is "ordained" into an *ordo*, but not into an *office*; rather, one is granted or installed into an office. For current purposes, then, we must note that "being a deacon" means being a part of the *ordo diaconorum*; the archdiaconate is an office to which certain deacons might be appointed.[54] This distinction is critical as we consider how the archdiaconate develops through the period in question.

Why did the office of archdiaconate emerge? As the Church expanded rapidly so too did the numbers of her ministers. One of the earliest identified functions of an archdeacon was the responsibility for and supervision of, all the deacons of a diocese. In the same letter from Jerome cited earlier, he observes:

> For even at Alexandria from the time of Mark the Evangelist until the episcopates of Heraclas and Dionysius the presbyters always named as bishop one of their own number chosen by themselves and set in a more exalted position, just as an army elects a general, or as deacons appoint one of themselves whom they know to be diligent and call him archdeacon.[55]

54 It is well known, as we shall see shortly, presbyters came to be assigned as archdeacons. However, since the *cursus honorum* was fairly well established by this point, presbyters had already been previously ordained as deacons. So, even a presbyter who would be appointed archdeacon was still in the (required) order of deacons as well as in the order of presbyters.

55 Jerome, "To Evangelius,"288–89; PL 22, 1192: "Nam et Alexandriae a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcpos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electrum, in

Pokusa observes that "at least in part, the ever-growing prestige of archdeacons was probably a contributing factor in keeping alive the old anxiety."[56]

The growth of the archdiaconate can be seen in part by contrasting Jerome's early 5th-century view, *supra*, with the ninth-century pseudo-Isidorian decretals. In the *Epistola ad Leudefredum*, which details the liturgical functions of each order, we nonetheless find a solid glimpse of the non-liturgical responsibilities attached to the office of the archdeacon:

> 11. The archdeacon governs the subdeacons and the deacons; and the following responsibilities are his: charge of the deacons' preparation of the altar, care of incense and of bringing the sacrifice to the altar, supervision of the subdeacons in bringing to the altar what is necessary for the sacrifice, the assignment of deacons for the Epistle and Gospel as well as for the intercessions and, on Sundays or feasts, for the responsorial. Concern for parishioners, day-to-day administration, and minor disputes come under his competence. He gives suggestions to the presbyters for the upkeep of diocesan churches. At the bishop's command, he inspects the parishes, and he likewise gives the bishop an account of the furnishings and the possessions of the parochial churches and matters of ecclesiastical liberties.
>
> 12. He receives the monetary contribution of the congregation and presents it to the bishop and distributes their proper shares to the clerics. The archdeacon advises the bishop of the misdeeds of any deacon. He notifies the presbyters of the schedule for feast days and for fasts, and he publicly announces the same in the Church. When the archdeacon is absent, the next deacon takes his place.[57]

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excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant quomodo si exercitus Imperatorem faciat: aut Diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et Archidiaconum vocent."

56 Pokusa, *A Canonical-Historical Study of the Diaconate,* 212.

57 Pseudo-Isidore, "Epistola ad Leudefredum," PL 83, 896: "11. Archidiaconus enim imperat subdiaconibus et Levitis, ad quem ista ministeria pertinent: ordinatio vestiendi altaris a Levitis, cura incensi, et sacrificii deferendis ad altare in sacrificio necessariis, solicitudo quis Levitarum Apostolum et Evangelium legat, quis preces dicat, seu responsorium in Dominicis diebus, aut solemnitatum. Solicitudo quoque parochitanorum, et ordinatio, et jurgis ad ejus pertinent curam; pro reparandis diocesanis basilicis ipse suggerit sacerdoti; ipse inquirit parochias cum jussione episcopi, et ornamenta, vel res basilicarum parochitanarum, gesta liberatum ecclesiasticarum episcopo idem defert. 12. Collectam pecuniam de communione ipse accipit, et episcopo ipse defert, et clericis partes proprias ipse distribuit. Ab archidiacono nuntiantur episcopo excessus diaconorum; ipse denuntiat sacerdoti in sacrario jejuniorum dies, atque solemnitatum; ab ipso publice in

Canonist Pokusa concludes that "especially through its prominent incorporation in the *Decretum* (D. XXV, 1), this delineation of the archdiaconal office can be said to span the centuries from Isidore through Gratian."[58] He further stresses that, *contra* Jerome, the authority of the archdeacon comes, not through his election by the deacons, but through episcopal appointment.[59]

Adrien Gréa wrote in an 1851 study of the archdiaconate, giving a wonderful and useful précis of the journey of the office from that of a simple minister at the service to the bishop to the powerful vicar of the bishop he would become.

> the authority of the archdeacon will not change in nature; but it will firmly establish itself, enlarge, and disengage itself from its original setting. He will cease little by little to be the chief of a diaconate to become more like an ecclesiastical magistrate. Additionally his magistrancy will even begin to change in its characteristic as a commission to make the most of its character as an office. We have seen the archdeacon initially as the leader of the deacons and, as such, assisting the bishop. Little by little the assistance becomes a delegation; the delegation, an office; and because of its importance, the supervision of the diocese, which had been only accessory to his original appointment, almost eclipsed the former … The archdeacon is not so much the leader of the deacons as the vicar of the bishop; and this turnabout, with its effect on his influence is marked by two other consequent changes: the multiplication of archdeaconries and archdeacons accepting the priesthood.[60]

An in-depth study of the archdiaconate is not possible here, but for our purposes the transition to archdeacon-presbyters is significant. Pokusa offers an excellent summary of the mid-eighth-century *Rule of Chrodegang* (the Bishop of Metz). I provide Pokusa's text as summary:

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ecclesia praedicantur. Quando autem archidiaconus absens est, vicem ejus diaconus sequens adimplet."

58 Pokusa, *A Canonical-Historical Study of the Diaconate,* 214.

59 Ibid., 215ff; see also his note #9 which cites Amanieu (*Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, 1935 ed., s.v. "Archdiacre," col. 950), that "nomination by the bishop rather than any form of election by the other eacons was the ordinary, ancient means for selecting archdeacons and the source of their authority."

60 Adrien Gréa, "Essai Historique sur les Archidiacres," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres* 2 (1851): 39–67; see also, 215–47.

> In Chrodegang's Rule the archdeacon is the immediate superior of the clerical community. Subordinate to the bishop alone he holds authority to discipline and dispense. The archdeacon is, however, no longer charged with the training of the deacons or lower clergy; rather the *praepositus* has assumed this responsibility ... Preoccupied with diocesan responsibilities, the archdeacon had become isolated from connection with other deacons and was no longer head of the order of deacons in any meaningful sense. He was merely their ecclesiastical superior, the bishop's vicar.[61]

The multiplication of archdeacons, both within the urban, diocesan centers but also in more rural areas, coupled with the increased numbers of presbyters serving in the office of archdeacon continued to change the character of the office. Under the centralizing efforts of the Gregorian reforms and the emergence of a more systematic approach to canon law, the authority of the archdeacons began to wane considerably. In the 13th century numerous synods began to restrict the jurisdiction of the archdeacons. It was also during this period that further canonical developments reflected the shifting meaning of both *ordo* and *officium*. Pokusa's studies on both the diaconate and the archdiaconate will conclude that, given the paradigm shift already discussed in the theological understanding of the meaning of sacramental ordination, the profound power of the archdeacon will lead eventually to the creation and development two additional offices: those of vicar general and chancellor. Both offices were to be filled only by those in presbyteral orders; in a sense, a "divide-and-conquer" approach that would prevent any one person from wielding the exceptional power of the archdeacon at the height of his power.

12.8 Scholastic Church: Hildebrand to Trent

The scholastic period of theological development further reveals a well-documented paradigm shift in the sacramental meaning of ordination. This shift will cement both the *cursus honorum* and a new ontological meaning to ordination that will now see the deacon, not as part of an *ordo* of ministry in its own right, but as a future-priest-in-training. To use a contemporary expression, the diaconate will be exercised as a form of "on-the-job training" for future priests.

Yves Congar described it this way: "When the treatment of the sacrament of Order was developed in the second half of the twelfth century, then formulated in the work of the great scholastics of the thirteenth century, it was

61 Pokusa, *A Canonical-Historical Study of the Diaconate,* 220–22.

dominated by reference to the Eucharist, by the power of consecrating, *potestas conficiendi*. This power was given by an indelible and personally possessed character."[62] Western theologians had been attempting to develop a more comprehensive theology of the Eucharist for several centuries, and as that theology matured, the sacerdotal role of the presbyter reflected that process; as the theology of the Eucharist gained prominence, so too did the resultant prominence of the one who had the *sacra potestas* to "confect" that Eucharist. This would have the effect of further subordinating those orders which did not confect the Eucharist (the diaconate, for example). It also affected the sacramental understanding of the bishop, since some scholastics, such as Thomas Aquinas, would conclude that since there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter vis-à-vis confecting the Eucharist, that there was no unique sacramental character conferred upon a person being "consecrated." The shift in language is significant: the bishop was not being "ordained" but "consecrated" as a bishop. Pierre-Marie Gy offered the following summary in 1955:

> [Thus] a contemporary witness relates that in 1073 the deacon Hildebrand on becoming Pope Gregory VII, *ordinatus est sacerdos*, was ordained priest at Embertide in Pentecost, then *consecratus est in episcopum*, was consecrated bishop on the feast of the Holy Apostles. We will note in passing that of the many deacons who had been elected Pope, Gregory VII was the first to be ordained priest before being consecrated bishop– St. Leo, St. Gregory the Great proceeded immediately from the diaconate to the fullness of the priesthood.[63]

Certainly, the *cursus honorum* was sufficiently in place by this time that many deacons were being ordained to the presbyterate; what makes Hildebrand's decision noteworthy is the growing sense that it was important to go through the full range of sequential ordination. Over time, *ordo* had transitioned from its patristic meaning connecting the minister to the community in whose service he or she was being called. Now, *ordo* had a much more specific sacramental meaning:

> For Rufinus (*ad dist*., 21), Order is the '*signaculum, id est quoddam secretum quo spiritualis potestas et officium traditur ei qui ordinatur*.' For

62 Congar, "Note," 13.

63 Pierre-Marie Gy, "Notes on the Early Terminology of Christian Priesthood," in *The Sacrament of Orders: Some Papers and Discussions concerning Holy Orders at a Session of the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, 1955* (Collegeville, MN: 1957), 105.

> Henry of Suso (*c.* 1271) it … confers character, through the imposition of the bishop's hands (in the form prescribed by the Church) and the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, to enable those who received it to perform certain functions.[64]

The transition was complete. Henceforth, ordination was focused on the Eucharist, and the effects of ordination were described by the ordinands' responsibilities to the Eucharist. This will be found in full flower at the Council of Trent. The presbyter, who was now told in ordination rituals that he was receiving *power* to confect the Eucharist, was at the top of the sacramental pyramid. Then came two additional major *ordines*, so called because of their liturgical proximity and involvement in support of the priest at Mass, the deacon and subdeacon. All of this will be confirmed by the Council of Trent.

12.9 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to sketch, in broad strokes, the course of the diaconate from the patristic era into the dawn of the modern era. We have seen the deacon emerge as an office-holder in the ancient church, a person who shared in the responsibility of good order within the Christian community; a person who, on behalf of the community and in the name of the bishop, had a particular role in being responsible for those in need and for the administration of the Church's goods. Needs take many forms, and the deacon took on various roles as catechist, reconciler of sinners, member of the community's ruling council, and legate. Always closely associated with his bishop, the deacon was often the bishop's successor, and some deacons served in the extremely powerful office of archdeacon, with responsibilities over the rest of the clergy (including presbyters), with fiscal and judicial oversight. However, in the restructuring of ordained ministry beginning in the 4th century, the deacon as a proper and permanent minister began to fade from the scene, becoming a minister identified with his ultimate goal of priesthood. This shift was concretized in the process of a growing Eucharistic theology and culminated in the paradigm shift of the meaning of ordination in the 12th century.

While until the 12th century ordination was focused on the function one performed on behalf of a very specific community (and never apart from that community), the meaning soon focused instead on the person of the ordinand

64 Fransen, "The Tradition in Medieval Canon Law", 203–04, citing Hortensius, *Summa aurea, De tempore ordin. et qual. ordinandorum*, n. 1.

and the creation of a "sacred minister," who held power that was attached to the person of the minister and that could be exercised in various places as determined by ecclesiastical authority. The pinnacle of this power was the power to celebrate the Eucharist and to forgive sins. Since this power was restricted to those in the sacerdotal orders of presbyter and bishop, all other orders, including the diaconate, were subordinated to an all-powerful priesthood. It was this understanding of Holy Orders which would eventually be further canonized at the Council of Trent in the 16th century and would remain in place until the 20th century.

Ancient Sources Index

Adam Scotus 182
Agnes 221
Alan of Lille 260, 270, 285, 325, 326, 342
Alexander III, Pope 17, 245, 289, 300
Alexander IV, Pope 291–292, 342n92
Alexios I Komnenos 77, 89
Amalar (Amalarius) of Metz 152, 211–212
Ambrose, bishop of Milan 3, 106, 113–116, 121, 217–224, 241, 355
Ambrosiaster 106, 113–114
Anselm of Canterbury 161
Anselm of Havelberg 284
Anselm of Laon 157, 166
Anthony of Padua 330, 331, 336
Apophthegmata Ordinal 142
Apostolic Canons 73, 123–125, 128, 130–131
Apostolic Constitutions 123–125, 355, 359
Apostolic Tradition 123, 348, 350, 360, 363–364
Aquinas, Thomas 13, 39, 259, 266, 267, 370
Arsenal Ordinal 162
Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria 73, 119–120
Augustine, bishop of Hippo 3, 103, 116, 214, 217–218, 222–225, 235, 283, 285, 288–289, 291–292, 294, 356, 359
Augustine of Canterbury 34
Autun Ordinal 143
Azzo VI d'Este 332

Barcelona Ordinal 146
Bartholomew of Exeter 261, 265, 267, 269–273, 275, 278
Basil, bishop of Caesarea 85, 95
Bede 151, 230
Benedict XI, Pope 294
Benedict the Levite 236
Benedict of Nursia 290
Bernold of Constance 212–213
Berthold of Regensburg 333
Bern Ordinal 170
Bitton, William 275
Bobbio Missal 150
Bonaventure 39, 293–294
Boniface of Devon 34, 61, 135, 201n84
Boniface VIII, Pope 258, 294–297, 303, 342n92
Bononillus 336
Burchard of Worms 261

Canons of Theodore 230
Canterbury Ordinal 176
Cantilupe, Thomas 259
Cantilupe, Walter 263–264, 271, 274
Caesarius of Arles, bishop 235
Celestine, Pope 197
Childebert II, king 135, 238n129
Chrodegang, bishop of Metz 32, 135, 368–369
Clement VII, Pope 299
Clement VIII, Pope 365
Clement of Alexandria 98–99
Clement of Rome 97
Codex Apiarii causae 129
Codex Theodosianus 79, 90
Colchester Ordinal 144
Colet, John 31
Collection in Ten Parts Ordinal 169
Comestor, Peter 266, 325
Compendium theologicae veritatis 182
Conrad of Höxter 341
Constantine I, emperor 70, 76, 105, 353
Constantine I, Pope 132
Constantine IX, emperor 83
Constantius III, emperor 124
Cornelius, Pope 47
Cornetto, Benedict 331
Cum ex eo 258–259
Cum sub liberi arbitrii potestate creati simus 138
Cyprian, bishop of Carthage 100, 352
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem 119n80

d'Ailly, Pierre 31, 37, 300, 302–303
Damasus, Pope 107, 109, 114
De bono coniugali 224
Decretum 171, 241–243, 252, 295, 308, 368
De ecclesiasticis officiis 45, 358
De officiis septem graduum 45
De sacramento altaris 182
De septem ordinibus ecclesiae 45, 181, 358
De tripartito tabernaculo 182

De Virginibus 218–221
De Virginitate 218–221
Dhuoda 213–214
Didache 82, 97, 123, 351
Didascalia apostolorum 100, 123, 349, 352
Diego, bishop of Osma 319
Dionysius Exiguus 129
Duns Scotus 26
Drogo Sacramentary 58–59, 61, 65, 67
Durand, William 46, 48, 199, 191, 211

Edward I, king of England 297
Elias of Cortona 324
English Sacramentary 236
English Pontifical Ordinal 153
Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis 120–121
Epistola ad Leudefredum 45, 47, 358, 367
Erasmus of Rotterdam 248
Eudes de Sully 325
Euphronius, bishop of Autun 135
Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea 47, 118–119
Eustathios Boïlas 78, 82–89, 93
Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste 123
Evaristus, Pope 236
Ezzelino III da Romano 330–332

Fasciculus morum 40–41
First Roman Ordo 197–199
Fleury Ordinal of Christ 151–152
Francis of Assisi 293–294, 319–321, 324, 328–331, 333–334, 336, 343, 345
Frederick Barbarossa, emperor 289
Fulk, bishop of Toulouse 320

Gaius, jurist 233
Gaius, Pope 169–170
Gelasian Sacramentary 55
Gelasius I, Pope 24, 295
Gellone Sacramentary 55, 236
Gennadius of Marseilles 44
Geoffrey de Lawath 266
Gerard of Borgo San Donnino 291
Gerard of Modena 331–332
Gerhoh of Reichersberg 289, 291
Germain Ordinal 146
Gerson, Jean 37–39, 300–302
Giffard, Godfrey 259
Giffard, Walter 258–259
Giles of Bridport 265
Giles of Rome 297–298, 303, 305
Gratian, canonist 133, 171, 218n1, 233, 241–244, 241n148–149, 244n169, 252–253, 295, 307, 355, 358, 364, 368
Gregorian Sacramentary 43, 48, 56–59, 61, 209n147, 363
Gregory, bishop of Tours 134–135
Gregory I, Pope 133, 138, 194, 197, 209, 262, 272
Gregory VII, Pope 136–139, 196, 281, 288–289, 298, 370
Gregory IX, Pope 258, 321–323, 336
Gregory of Montelungo 344
Gregory of Nazianzus 60, 85
Grosseteste, Robert 232, 264–265, 267–268, 271–272, 274–275
Guzman, Dominic 319–321, 328, 336, 345
Gysborne, John 28–29

Hadrian I, Pope 43–44, 132–133, 245
Haymo of Faversham 333, 340, 342
Henry IV, emperor 281, 289
Henry of Ghent 266
Henry of Milan 332
Hibernensis 150–151, 161, 168
Hibernian Chronological Ordinal 147
Hiberno-Gallican Hierarchical Ordinal 152
Hiberno-Hispanic Hierarchical Ordinal 148
Hincmar of Rheims 30, 61, 240–241
Hippolytus 99–101, 350, 352, 355, 359
Homilies, Trinity and Lambeth 277
Honorius III, Pope 245, 258, 320
Honorius Augustodunensis 167, 192
Honorius "of Autun" Ordinal 168
Hostiensis, decretalist 246
Hrabanus Maurus 189
Hubert, bishop of Thérouanne 137
Hubert Walter of Westminster 325
Hugh of Amiens 172
Hugh of Saint Cher 335
Hugh of St. Victor 170, 182–183, 262, 285
Hugh of Strasbourg 182
Humbert, cardinal-bishop of Silva Candida 139n170
Humber of Romans 326, 335
Humile of Milan 333

Ignatius, bishop of Antioch 80, 97, 351
Ignorantia sacerdotum 255, 275
Innocent I, Pope 109, 116, 133
Innocent III, Pope 30–31, 46, 133, 245, 247, 254, 291, 294–296, 303, 305, 316, 320

Innocent IV, Pope 291, 337
Isaac, commentator 241
Isidore of Pelusium 85
Isidore of Seville 11, 34–35, 47, 147, 153, 157, 171, 188, 355, 358, 364, 368
Ivonian Ordinal 157
Ivo of Chartres 45, 157, 159, 161, 261, 269

Jacopino of Reggio 332
Jacques de Vitry 285, 316, 327, 335
James of Viterbo 298
Jerome 104, 106, 109, 116, 235, 356, 366–368
Joachim of Fiore 290–292
John I Tzimikes 86n55
John VII, Pope 132
John VIII, Pope 132
John Chrysostom 85, 286
John Climacus 85
John Moschus 85
John of Damascus 85
John of Fribourg 341
John of Paris 298–299
John of Vicenza 332
John of Walford 266
John Parenti 324
Jourdain I, ruler of Capua 242
Justinian I, emperor 70–71, 73–74, 77, 79, 89, 94, 188, 125–128, 131–132
Justin Martyr 193n24, 351

Lambeth Ordinal 143
Langton, Stephen 285, 325
Laurenziana Ordinal 167
Leo I, Pope 116–118, 133, 138, 197
Leo IX, Pope 136–137
Leo dei Valvassori da Perego 332
Leonine Sacramentary 54, 360, 363
Lex Alamannarum 238
Liber de divinis officiis 45
Libellus de diversis ordinibus 175, 182
Liber de numeris 149
Liber multiloquiorum 154
Liber ordinum 45–47
Liber pontificalis 196–197
Liber Quare 163–164
Limoges Ordinal 150
Lombard, Peter 9, 170, 182, 183, 185, 192, 253, 285, 310, 317
Lothar II, king 239–243
Lotharius Rex 242–243
Lupus, bishop of Troyes 135
Luther, Martin 41–42, 248–249

Malalian Ordinal 145
Manuale Ordinal 180
Manuale sacerdotis 28
Manuscripts
  Autun
    Bibliothèque Municipale MS 19 (19bis) 56–58
  Bologna
    Biblioteca Universitaria 794 182
  Burgo de Osma
    Biblioteca Capitular 166 182
  Cambridge
    Corpus Christi College 79 182
    Pembroke College 288 265
    St. John's College 62 265
    Trinity College B xi 9 182
    University Library Mm III 21 182
  Cava
    Archivio della Badia della ss. Trinità 3 154
  Dublin
    Trinity College Library 98 182
    Trinity College Library 218 154
  El Escorial
    d. l. 1 56
    d. l. 2 56
  Florence
    Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 16.l5 154
  Ivrea
    Biblioteca Capitolare 86 60
  London
    British Library Additional 16413 156
    British Library Arundel 360 182
    British Library Harl. 561 182
    British Library Harl. 2906 156
    British Library Harl. 3222 166
    British Library Lansdowne 451 182
    British Library Royal 7 A IX 182
    British Library Royal 8 B XIV 182
    British Library Sloane 2479 182
  Madrid
    Biblioteca Nacional lat. 19 154
  Mantua
    Biblioteca Comunale 295 182
  Milan
    Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 79 sup. 154

Biblioteca Ambrosiana T 62 sup. 166
Biblioteca Ambrosiana Y 43, sup. 183
Montecassino
Archivio dell'Abbazia 451 156
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Clm. 6330 150
Oxford
Bodleian Library 37 182
Bodleian Library Can. Liturg. 359 182
New College 98 267
Paris
Bibliothèque Mazarine Lat. 778 182
Bibliothèque nationale de France 3265A 181
Bibliothèque nationale de France Lat. 7418 154
Bibliothèque nationale de France Lat. 9428 58, 59
Bibliothèque nationale de France Lat. 12942 164
Bibliothèque nationale grec. 510 61
Rome
Biblioteca Casanatense 724 (B 1 13) 62–67
Biblioteca Alessandrina 173 156
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Sessor. 52(2096) 156
Biblioteca Vallicelliana Tomus XVIII 154
Toledo
Biblioteca Capitular 39.14 182
Biblioteca Capitular 56.18 182
Tortosa
Biblioteca Capitular 122 154, 182
Troyes
Bibliothèque Municipale 1487 182
Trésor de la Cathedrale 4 182
Vatican
Archivio San Pietro H 58 154
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Borghes. 287 182
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Lat. 1349 154
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 277 149
Vercelli
Biblioteca Capitolare CXLI 182
Verona
Biblioteca Capitolare LXIIL (61) 154

Master Bandinus 183
Master Simon Ordinal 177–178
Maurice de Sully 276–277, 327, 335
Minucius Felix 98n7
Mirk, John 28, 207–208
Missale Francorum 55, 190n10
Mitrale Ordinal 184–185
Monaldo da Capodistria 341
Montecassino Ordinal 155–156
Mulchelney Breviary 145

Nicholas I, Pope 240–243
Nicholas II, Pope 136–137
Nicholas III, Pope 294
Norman Anonymous 138, 157, 159–160, 162, 166, 175, 177, 179
Notule super iv. librum sententiarum 171

Obizone of Sanvitale 344
Odo of Cambrai 202–203
Omnis aetas 264
Ordinal A of Cambridge 168
Ordinal B of Cambridge 179
Ordinal of Milan Amb. T 62 sup. 166
Ordinal of Milan Amb, Y 43 sup. 183
Ordinal of Paris 150, 164, 181, 185
Ordines Romani 44, 48, 54–55, 58
Ordo Romanus 47, 51–52, 59–60
Origen of Alexandria 100, 102–105, 118–119

Paphnutius 122–123, 138
Paston, John 247
Paston, Margaret 247
Paston, Margery 247
Paul VI, Pope 186, 233
Paul, apostle 8, 96, 98–99, 103, 110, 138, 278, 284
Paul of Hungary 341
Pecham, John 255–256, 275, 280
Penitential of Cummean 230
Penitential of Egbert 231
Penitential of Finnian 228–229
Penitential of Pseudo-Bede 230–231
Peter Abelard 310
Peter Damian 205–206, 281
Peter Martyr (of Verona) 336–337
Peter of Roissy 180–181
Peter Olivi 294
Peter the Chanter 260–261, 310, 317, 325

Philip IV, king of France 296–297
Poenitentiale Capitula Iudiciorum 231
Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna 97, 351
Pontifical Guilelmi Durandi 46, 48–51, 53
Pontificale Romanae Curiae 46, 51
Pontificale Romano-Germanicum 46, 49–50, 60, 62, 67–68, 156
Pontificale Romanum xii saeculi 46
Pontifical of Egbert 46, 153
Poore, Richard 261, 267, 273, 275
Protocols of Anagni 291
Psalter Commentary Ordinal 179
Pseudo-Clementines 352
Pseudo-Dionysius 8, 36–37, 284, 292–293
Pseudo-Isidorian Decretal 8, 35, 236, 367
Pseudo-Udalric 137–138

Quinel, Robert 264

Raganaldus of Marmoutier 56
Raleigh, William 275
Ramirez, Sancho, king of Aragon 242
Raymond of Peñafort 246, 341
Regino of Prüm 206–207
Robert de Jumièges 236
Richard of Wetheringsett 278
Robert of Flamborough 232, 261, 265, 267–273, 338–339
Roger of Huntingfield 266
Rouen Ordinal 177
Rufinus, decretalist 243, 370
Rule of Benedict 135, 227
Rule of Columbanus 227

Sacramentary of Echternach 236
Sacramentarium Veronense 43, 360
Salimbene 291, 333
Scotus, Duns 26
Sententia Magistri A 182
Sergius I, Pope 132, 197
Shepherd of Hermas 98, 351
Sicard of Cremona 183, 185, 192
Sigebert of Gembloux 137
Silvester I, Pope 197
Siricius, Pope 107–116, 120, 133, 138
Socrates Scholasticus 122–123, 126
Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae 183–184
Statuta ecclesiae antiqua 44, 47–48, 50, 52, 55, 59–60, 157, 235, 355
Stavensby, Alexander 263–265, 271–275
Ste-Geneviève Ordinal 164–165, 175
Stella clericorum 286, 305
Stephan of Autun 182
Stephen of Tournai 182
Summa de penitentia 181
Summa Haimonis 169–170
Summa 'Induent Sancti' 243
Summa Parisiensis 243
Super specula 258–259
Synesius, bishop of Cyrene 125–126

Telesphor, Pope 197
Tertullian 100–102, 352
Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia 98, 170
Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus 70n2
Theodosius II, emperor 124
Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria 126
Theutberga, queen 239–243, 241n147
Thomas of Chobham 232, 261, 266–275, 278–279
Tractatus pro clericorum conubio 137–138
Treatise of Madrid Ordinal 178
Turrecremata, Johannes de 39
Tychonius 288

Urban II, Pope 242
Urban VI, Pope 299
Ubertino de Casale294

Vallicelliana Ordinal 176
Verona Ordinal 155
Visconti, Federico 344

Waldrada 240
Walter de Stratton 265–266
Weseham, Roger 268
Wich, Richard 275
William de Montibus 257–258, 266–267, 278–280
William of St. Amour 291–293, 295, 300
William of Champeaux 285
William of Ockham 299–300, 302
Wyclif, John 294–295

Xystus I, Pope 197

Zeno, emperor 74–75

Scripture Index

Genesis 85
1:27 124
1:31 124
14:18–20 211n161

Exodus
19:15 104

Leviticus 101, 103
21:13–14 117

Numbers 103

1 Samuel
21:4 104–105

1 Chronicles
6:31–53 114

Psalms 143, 170, 171
16:5 156
24 148
110:4 211n161

Proverbs 85, 222

Isaiah 144–148, 150–153, 155, 158, 160, 162–172, 174–181, 183–185
32:6 356
56:10 316n35

Jeremiah
1:10 296

Ezekiel
44:22 117

Daniel 288

Matthew 170, 277
4:17 160, 337n83
5:17 107–108
16:19 296
16:24 184
19:6 128
19:12 138

Mark
16:20 294

Luke 102, 221
1:35 176
2:1–5 81
4 161
18:29–30 96
24:5 152
24:45 155
24:50ff. 149

John 143, 212
8:12 158
10:9 158
14:37 332
20:23 296

Acts 85
1:9–12 213n174
1:12 152
6:1–6 359
6–8 359

Romans
2:21–22 286
8:8–9 108, 110
13:14 110, 111
16:1 351, 352
16:3 96
16:7 96

1 Corinthians 104
1:2 102
4 298
4:16 284
7 138
7:5 103, 104, 108–109, 111, 113, 121
7:7 110
7:9 98, 138
7:27 128
7:29 110
7:39 98

7:35 120
9:5 96
Galatians
4:19 103

Ephesians 234
5:23 117
5:27 102

Philippians
1:1 351, 352
3:13 284

Colossians 234

1 Timothy 97, 357
3 119, 351, 352
3:2 97–99, 119, 138
3:4–5 97
3:12 97–99, 138
4:1–5 98
5:14 98

2 Timothy 97
3:1–9 294
3:2 286
3:14 293

Titus 97
1:5 1
1:6 97–99
1:15 109, 111

Hebrews
5:6, 10 211n161
6:20 211n161
7:1 211n161
7:10–11 211n161
7:15 211n161
7:17 211n161
7:21 211n161
13 122
13:4 119, 128

1 Peter
2 10
2:18–3:7 234

Revelation 288
7:2 293
20 289
20:7 294

Modern Author Index

Andrieu, Michel 68
Audet, Jean-Paul 112
Avery, Myrtilla 66

Babut, Ernest-Charles 109
Boyle, Leonard 256
Bury, J.B. 77

Callam, Daniel 112–113
Congar, Yves M.-J. 282, 360, 361, 369

Darrouzès, Jean 77–78
de Ghellinck, Joseph 183
Denzler, Georg 112
Duval, Yves-Marie 109

Ellard, Gerald 65

Fransen, Gerard 362

Gibaut, John St. H. 350
Grundmann, Herbert 214
Gryson, Roger 112–113, 115
Gy, Pierre-Marie 370

Hornung, Christian 109
Hussey, J.M. 82

Jounel, Pierre 350, 360, 364

Ladner, Gerhard 66, 283
Little, A.G. 259
Little, Lester K. 339
Le Goff, Jacques 318, 327

Macy, Gary 361
Marcus, Robert A. 288
Marshall, Peter 20, 29
Mayr-Harting, Henry 8–9
McGinn, Bernard 290
Meigne, Maurice 106
Michaud-Quantin, Pierre 311, 341
Moore, R.I. 8–9
Moorman, John 260
Morenzoni, Franco 268
Morris, Colin 283
Morris, Rosemary 72
Murray, Alexander 231

Noonan, John T. 232, 242, 244n169

Oakley, Francis 299, 302
O'Connor, Cardinal John 305–305
Ohme, Heiz 124, 127
O'Malley, John 282
Osborne, Kenan 346
Osiek, Carolyn 234
Ozment, Stephen 297

Paul VI, Pope 233
Pelikan, Jaroslav 220–221, 223
Pellegrini, Luigi 329
Pokusa, Joseph 357, 358, 367–369
Power, David 358
Price, Richard 136

Rubin, Miri 220
Rush, Alfred 221n21

Schillebeeckx, Edward 112
Smalley, Beryl 285

Taft, Robert F. 194

Vongrey, Felix 59

Weisweiler, Heinrich 178
Weitzmann, Kurt 56
Williams, George Huntston 161
Winkelmann, Friedhelm 123
Wood, Susan K. 365

Subject Index

abbot 27, 47, 200, 227, 229, 240, 303, 339
absolution 4, 11, 12, 26, 38, 40–41, 279, 340
abuse, verbal 270, 271
acolyte 19, 44, 47, 51, 53–56, 63, 116, 151, 154–158, 160–171, 173, 176, 178–182, 184–186, 222, 338
adultery 50, 98n7, 107, 121, 172, 222, 224, 226n55, 233n101, 239–240
Advent 61, 84, 329, 340
advowson 265
afterlife 4, 26, 209
Agnus Dei 197
Agricultural and Commercial Revolution 306, 318
allocutions 45, 51, 54, 65, 141, 153
alms and almsgiving 278–279, 280, 351
altar 25, 49, 60, 100, 114, 117, 129–130, 145, 158, 162–164, 168, 171, 178–180, 182–185, 188, 198, 200, 201n81, 203, 206–208, 211–212, 288, 350, 356, 358, 367
Anglesey, Augustinian priory of 266
anointing 190–192, 215, 313, 314, 365
Antichrist 210, 284n14, 288–289, 291, 294–295
antiphonalia 44, 55
Apostles' Creed 273
apostles 4, 10, 35, 49, 96, 145, 148, 150, 153, 155, 158, 160, 169–170, 177, 181, 193, 204, 211, 293, 296, 359
archdeacon 35, 47, 49, 51–52, 62, 64, 66–67, 137, 263, 267, 308, 339, 361, 365–369, 371
Archontes 77–78
Armenia 73–74, 123, 304
Ars concionandi 329
arson 261
Articles of Faith 258, 275
Ascension, of Jesus 148–149, 152, 159, 170, 172, 213
Assisi, city of 320
Augustinian Canons 28, 266, 283–286, 288–289
Augustinian Hermits 326n57
Balsham, parish of 266
baptism 6, 26, 31, 33, 38, 42, 49, 54, 58, 61, 80, 107, 108, 110, 115–116, 124, 143–145, 159, 161, 186, 189, 222, 313, 359
barrenness 218, 229
Bath and Wells, see of 258–259, 275
Beguines 281
benedictionals 54
benediction 45, 50, 52, 62–63, 67, 116, 190
benefices 17–19, 32, 36, 136–137, 258, 287, 289, 304, 307–309, 312
bishop 4–13, 15–18, 22–23, 27–36, 38–41, 43–45, 47–56, 58–62, 67–68, 71, 75–77, 80–82, 88–93, 97–99, 100, 102, 105–108, 110, 113, 115, 117–135, 137–138, 140–187, 190–192, 195, 199, 204, 210–211, 227, 227n62, 239, 247, 254, 261, 263–268, 271–276, 279, 282, 285–287, 292–293, 295, 300–304, 308–309, 311, 312, 313n27, 315–316, 318, 322, 329, 339, 344, 347–352, 354–360, 362–372
  auxiliary 8, 34–36
  consecration of 31, 53, 59, 61, 126, 131, 363
  dependence on pope 39–40
  diocesan 29–34, 247
  in partibus infidelium 34–35
  role in ordination 12–13
  sacramental powers of 31, 312, 313n27, 322
  suffragan 32–33, 35–36, 38–39
  titular 38–39, 75–77, 303
  translation of 31–32
  See also *chorepiscopi*
blessing 36, 50, 62, 67, 84, 87, 141–142, 152, 161, 171, 174, 188–192, 211, 213, 235–236, 239–241, 243–244, 246, 249, 315, 363,
blasphemy 271
Bologna 258, 309, 321, 329, 332, 336, 341n89
bread 24, 104, 142–144, 146–148, 151–153, 156, 158, 160–164, 166–167, 169–171, 173, 176, 178, 180–181, 183–185, 190–191, 198, 202–204, 207–208, 211, 213–215, 229, 304, 315, 351–352
brehon law 226–227
burial of the dead 83, 315, 322, 323

Cambridge 259
canons/canon law 3, 8–9, 14, 45, 54–56, 79, 81, 89, 115, 127–128, 133, 141, 154, 157, 218, 235, 243, 245–247, 252–256, 258–261, 263, 267, 269–272, 282, 301, 303, 366, 369
canon of the Mass 44, 61, 194, 198, 210–212, 213n177
Canons Regular 175, 182, 283, 308, 327
Canterbury, province of 254
Carolingian 135, 149, 195, 195
catechesis 256, 317, 343, 357, 359
Cathars 281, 306, 319–320, 335–337, 343
cathedrals 71, 202, 259
  common life at 32, 266–267
Roman Catholic Church 186, 304
celibacy 2, 15–16, 96, 99, 111–114, 118–119, 122, 125, 131, 133, 136, 138–139, 180, 185, 205, 217, 221, 251, 277–278
  See also virginity
chalice 52, 64, 84, 146, 155, 166–167, 173, 178, 191, 207–208, 212, 268, 351
chaplain 267
chastity 90, 101, 103, 108, 122, 205–206, 224
Cherington, parish of 266
children 26, 80, 85, 89–92, 97, 101, 103, 105, 107, 110, 119–120, 125–127, 131, 135, 205, 219–221, 223, 225, 228–229, 233–234, 247, 268, 270, 331
  See also offspring; offspring (spiritual)
chorepiscopi 8, 34–35
chrism 31, 33, 192
Christmas 61, 84, 202n88, 313n29
church, power to bind and loose 95, 166, 181, 254–255, 279–280, 296, 312
Cistercians 319
clergy 4, 9, 13–14, 16, 18–28, 32–33, 37–39, 47, 56, 70–72, 78–91, 93–94, 140, 198–199, 201–204, 207, 214, 247, 252, 256, 258–261, 263–264, 266–267, 271, 273, 275–278, 281–283, 285–288, 292, 295, 297, 299–301, 303–305, 306, 311, 315, 316, 317, 322, 329, 330, 342, 344, 347–348, 352, 359–361, 369
  marriage 2, 96–139
communes 319, 326, 330, 332
Conciliar Movement 39–40, 299–300
Concordat of Worms 282
confession 4, 11, 23, 25–28, 91, 205, 226, 232, 251–254, 258, 278–279, 287, 300, 309, 315, 322, 325, 326, 329, 337–342
  frequency of 231, 253–254, 273, 313
  implementation of 254–255, 314
  necessity of 273, 276–277
  teaching how to conduct 258, 262–263, 269–273
  to priest, necessity of 252–253
  who can hear 272
consecration, Eucharistic 24, 188–192, 202–204, 206, 208, 214–215, 268
Constantinople 71, 73–77, 82–83, 123, 132n134, 195
continence 2, 101–122, 129–130, 133–135, 138, 180, 223–224, 228, 232
contraception 225, 230–232
Corpus Christi 202
councils, church 354
  Agde 133–134, 357, 359
  Ancyra 121, 138
  Angers 362
  Antioch 125
  Arles 106n33, 134, 352, 362
  Benevento 170
  Bourges 136, 138
  Carthage 73, 129–130, 235, 362
  Chalcedon 74, 76, 362
  Compostela 136n152
  Constance 281, 300–303
  Constantinople I 132n134
  Constantinople II 127n119
  Constantinople III 127n119
  Elvira 105–106, 352, 359
  Florence 304
  Gangra 123–124, 138
  Gerona 134
  Gerona 136n152
  in Trullo 73, 76, 80, 88, 93–95, 118, 127–133
  Lambeth 255–256
  Lateran I 139, 281–284, 303
  Lateran II 139, 287
  Lateran III 256, 287, 307–310, 316, 325
  Lateran IV 26, 203–204, 231–232, 247, 254–255, 256, 263, 287, 307, 309, 311–313, 317–318, 320, 321–322, 325, 329, 339, 342–343, 345
  Lyons II 287
  Macon 134

Neocaesarea 121
Nicaea I 122–123, 138, 347, 351–354, 358–359
Nicaea II 82, 132–133
Orleans 134, 235
Paris 235
Pisa 300–301
Rome 136–137
Telepte 108
Toledo I 362
Toledo III 134, 357, 359
Toledo IV 171
Tours 136n152, 362
Trent 196, 217, 249–250, 304, 364, 369, 371–372
Valentinum 116
Vannes 362
Vatican II 111–112, 304
Vienne 287
Coventry and Lichfield, see of 268
Creed, Nicene 317, 343
cross 24, 84, 151–152, 158, 162–165, 168, 171–174, 176–180, 183–185, 190, 211–212, 293
crucifixion 142, 192, 212
Crusades 209n148
cura animarum 306, 311, 317, 322, 325, 335, 343, 344
Curia, Roman 196, 323–324
cursus honorum 1, 12, 19, 29, 350, 353–354, 364, 366n56, 369–370

deaconess 71n3, 90, 131, 361
deacon 13–14, 44, 47–48, 49, 52–56, 58–59, 64, 67, 71, 97, 99, 102, 115, 120–122, 124, 134, 138, 140–187, 212, 346–372
deaf-mutes 245
deans and deaneries 263, 267, 308, 339
Devil 276, 288, 294
digamy 98–100, 102, 115–116 , 124–125, 264
Divine Office 323
Dominicans 264, 287, 298, 306, 319, 322, 324, 325, 335, 336, 341, 344–345
doorkeeper 44, 47–49, 51, 53–56, 58, 62, 67, 71, 140, 143–155, 158, 160–172, 175–179, 181–182, 184–186
druids 226, 226n58, 227n61
drunkenness 92, 244n168, 275
Durham, bishopric of 29

Easter 197, 202n88, 313, 331, 340
elevation of host 212, 215
Ely, cathedral monastery of 266
Ely, see of 267
Endemousa synodos, *see* Home Council
England 7, 13, 24, 19, 22, 33, 35, 40, 68, 153, 195, 214, 247, 252–280, 297, 310, 318, 324, 325, 338
Eucharist 2, 10–12, 24–26, 44, 80, 112, 115, 141, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 186, 188–194, 196, 199, 200n73, 201–216, 279, 313, 314, 316, 317, 323, 326, 331, 339, 340, 342–343, 350–352, 354–355, 357, 359, 364, 370–372
excommunication 74, 210, 235, 247, 271–272, 279, 289, 297, 304, 309
Exemplum/exempla 334–335
Exeter, see of 264
exorcist 44, 47, 51, 53, 55, 56, 144–148, 151–153, 155, 158, 160–165, 167–172, 175–176, 178–182, 184–185

fabliaux 214
fasting 48, 129, 207, 270, 326
father 89, 119–121, 150, 205, 233–235, 237–238, 242–243, 246, 248–249, 334
fecundity and fruitfulness 217–221, 223–224, 236, 251
See also spiritual fecundity
France 37, 68, 150, 156–157, 194, 239, 276, 297, 316, 318–319, 324–325, 335–336, 338, 357
Franciscans 196, 268, 281, 287, 291–294, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 328, 330, 332, 341, 344–345
Friedelehe 237n126
function (*munus, munera*) 346, 347, 358–361, 363, 366–367, 371

Gaul 110, 115, 133, 194, 196218, 347
Germany 29, 34, 62, 239, 289, 324,
Gloria 49, 197
God, triune nature of 92, 258, 273, 290, 310
Goliardic poets 244n168
Great Alleluia 331–333
Great Schism 38, 299, 301, 303
Gregorian Reform 136–139, 281, 288, 303, 306, 307, 310, 327
Gubbio, Wolf of 333–334

Haddenham, parish of 267
Hail Mary 257, 273, 317, 343
Hereford, see of 259
heresy 214–215, 299, 316, 319–320, 335
hierarchy 47–48, 55–56, 68, 71, 73, 75, 78, 143, 147, 152, 161, 174, 181, 186–187, 224, 236, 284, 292, 300, 303, 363
  pseudo-Dionysian 36–39, 41–42
  see also Archontes
Holy Orders 1, 9, 41, 217, 226, 304, 313n27, 347, 372
Holy Spirit 12, 24, 49, 104, 120, 145, 156, 162–164, 167, 172, 176, 192, 262, 290, 302, 371,
Home Council 76–78
homicide 15, 261, 271
homosexual relations 229–230, 232, 235, 349
host 26, 191–192, 202, 208, 210, 212, 214–215, 268,
household codes 234
Humanae Vitae 233
husband 15, 86, 90, 97–99, 115–117, 120, 131, 133–134, 219–224, 220n12, 220n14, 224, 229, 235, 237–239, 242, 251

impurity 104, 111–115
indulgences 33–34
Interdict of England 254
introit 49, 197
Investiture Contest 8
Ireland 6–7, 18, 35, 195, 226–232
Irish penitentials 3, 228–232
Italy 19, 29, 61–62, 66, 68, 154, 156, 218, 306, 316, 319, 321, 324–326, 329–331, 333–336, 339, 344–345

Jesus Christ 81, 96, 102, 138, 143–144, 156, 158, 165, 172–175, 191–193, 198, 204, 208–213, 216, 276–277, 296, 312, 332, 351
  as bridegroom/spouse 220–223, 313
jurisdiction 10, 29, 31–33, 36–41, 128, 249, 298, 302, 312, 369
justice 321, 330–331, 333–334, 345, 349, 352

Kaufehe 237
kiss of peace 203, 213, 332, 359, 364
Kyrie 49

laity 9, 18–20, 22, 24, 26–28, 38, 41, 72n5, 89, 94, 109, 121, 133, 137, 198–199, 201–203, 208–209, 213–216, 253, 259, 261, 273–280, 281–281, 299, 301–305, 306, 318, 327
  and clergy 9, 20, 22, 27, 93, 139, 198, 297
Lanquedoc 319, 320, 336
Last Supper 4, 10, 140–141, 159, 161, 186, 193, 211, 257
Latin language 2, 17, 70, 140, 188, 201, 312, 317, 343
lay investiture 135–136, 139
lector 44, 47–48, 51, 53–56, 62, 71, 125, 140, 142–148, 150–153, 155, 158, 160, 162–165, 167–172, 175–176, 178–179, 181–182, 184–185, 268
Lent 33, 84, 137, 273, 276–277, 326, 329, 330–331, 340
leprosy 245, 276, 309, 320
libelli 43–45, 54–56, 61, 68
Lilleshall abbey 28
Lincoln, see of 264
literacy 17–18, 20, 85–86, 87, 266–277
liturgy 2, 7, 17, 54, 61, 68, 80, 84–85, 91, 130, 156, 189–190, 192–199, 211, 214–215, 255, 278, 312, 314, 316–317, 323, 350, 360, 364
  Ambrosian 194–196
  Celtic 195, 210n155
  Gallican 194, 201
  Mozarabic 7
  Visigothic 194
Llanthony Secunda, Augustinian priory of 266
Lombard Law 238–239
Lord's Prayer 257, 262, 273, 317, 343
lust 225, 228, 244

magic 210, 229
Magnus, parish of 266
Manichaeism 222–223, 222n26
marketplace 319, 328
marriage 3, 89, 271, 274, 279, 313
  as a power transfer 237
  as a transaction 227, 237–238
  blessings 235–236, 239–241, 243–244, 246, 249
  by abduction 237–238, 238n129, 238n130
  by rape 227
  clandestine 246–250, 246n181

clerical 15–16, 24–25, 89–91, 96–139, 121, 127
coercion 241–243, 244n169, 245
consent 233–234, 237, 237n126, 240–241, 243–250
dissolution of 128, 132
elopement 237, 238n128, 238n130
fidelity 98–99
freedom to marry 97, 245–247
parental consent 233–235, 237–238, 242–243, 246, 248–249
physical 219, 221, 224
priestly blessings 235–236, 239–241, 241n147, 243–244, 246, 249
public announcement of 247, 249–250
sacrament of 103, 117, 217–251
sexual abstinence in 108, 119, 230
spiritual 117, 220–221, 221n21
validity of 269–270, 272
Mary, mother of Jesus Christ 220–221, 223
Mass 4, 22, 24, 26, 28, 41, 43–44, 49–52, 54–55, 58–59, 61, 137, 140, 189–191, 192–216, 236, 317, 343, 371
sacrifice of 188–189, 191, 197, 199, 205, 207–208, 211, 214
masturbation 230–232
Melchisedech 6, 211
Mendicant Controversy 293
mendicant orders 41, 287–288, 294, 300, 318–319, 322, 325, 326n57, 328, 329, 343–345
merchants 320–321, 327
military service 108, 353
miracles 31, 210, 293–294
misericords 214
missal 196, 200
monasteries 77, 82, 200, 205, 227, 266–267, 282
monks 27–29, 39, 72, 93–94, 105, 107, 119–120, 135, 200–201, 205, 217, 224, 226–227, 232, 361
monogamy 98, 100–103, 117–118, 120–121, 124–125, 131–133
Montanism 101–102
mother 150, 219–223, 229, 235, 249
mundium 238

natural law 225, 241n149, 301
New Testament 5, 10, 97, 140, 193, 228
Nicodemus 212
Nicolaitism 204
nocturnal emissions 232
Norbertines 283
North Africa 133
Norwich, see of 275
Notre-Dame of Paris 310
nuns 50, 201, 206, 219, 221

offspring 107, 225, 233, 233n100, 233n101, 233n102, 235, 239, 248
offspring, spiritual 220–221, 223
Old Testament 50, 100, 103–104, 107–109, 113–114, 117, 125, 148, 175, 219
ontology, ontological 1–2, 14, 25, 254, 281–282, 284, 286, 293, 295, 298, 302, 304–305, 346–347, 350, 356, 358–359, 364, 369
orders, system of 11–12, 19, 47
ordinals of Christ 12, 45, 140–143, 145, 147, 149–157, 159, 161–162, 167–169, 172, 175, 180–182, 185–187, 210–211
ordination 1, 4–42, 43–69, 75, 190–192, 206, 254, 268, 281, 295, 299, 301, 304–305, 312, 347–348, 353, 360–362, 366, 369, 370
as sacrament 9, 11, 12–13, 24–25, 41–42, 44
eligibility for 16–19, 81, 86–87
meaning of 12–13, 26, 282, 351, 356
rituals 350, 359–360, 364, 371
validity of 16, 20, 36, 90,125, 269, 354
ordines 44–45, 197–199, 353, 371
Oxford 258, 259, 268, 324–325

pamphlets 256, 262, 264–266, 268–269
papacy 1, 8, 30, 38, 40, 74, 204, 256, 294–295, 301, 303, 321–322, 324, 342, 366
Paquara 332
Paris, University of 270, 285, 303, 324, 325, 329
parishes 13, 18, 22, 28, 32, 36, 43, 71–72, 82, 95, 200, 266–267, 280, 307–311, 315, 313, 314, 316, 323, 325, 335, 342, 344, 357, 359, 367
Parma 331–332, 344
pastoralia 256–258, 260–273, 278
pastoral care 13, 18–19, 26–27, 37, 87–91, 94–95, 256, 282–283, 286, 306–307, 311, 314, 317, 321, 335, 341–343, 344–345

pastors 2, 23, 217, 257, 259, 264–265, 311–312, 323, 342, 344, 347
Patarenes 137n158, 306
paterfamilias 233
patronage 21, 265, 280
penance 26, 33, 107, 121, 132, 226, 228–231, 233, 236, 253, 255, 258, 260–261, 265, 269–272, 275, 277–278, 313–315, 320, 324, 326, 328, 333–334, 337340, 342
penitent 33, 61, 252–253, 255, 260–263, 269–273, 314, 320, 326, 338–342
penitentials 3, 228–232, 260–262, 265, 271–272
penitentiary 33, 338
Pentecost 48, 162–164, 202n88, 313n29, 370
pietas 233–235
pieve 13
pollution 111, 113, 205
ponficials 45–46, 48, 54, 56, 68–69, 154, 161, 175, 177, 182
pope, position within church 38–41, 194–199
poverty 215, 289, 293–294, 322–323
power 10, 12, 26, 29, 31, 33, 36, 38–41, 42, 49, 53, 91, 95, 166, 172, 178, 183, 191–192, 211, 215, 226, 233, 237, 239, 243, 255, 280, 281, 287, 289, 295–298, 302, 304, 312, 316, 332, 347, 349–351, 356, 359–360, 362, 364, 370–371, 372
Premonstratensians 28, 283
prayer 23, 28, 43–45, 50–55, 61–62, 65, 67, 70, 90, 100, 103–104, 109–111, 113, 123, 129, 158, 171, 179, 188, 190, 194, 196–203, 207, 211–213, 257, 316–317, 325, 343, 356, 359, 363–365
preaching 23–24, 39, 43, 88–89, 94, 175, 189, 251, 256, 275–277, 285–287, 290, 293, 309, 315–316, 319–320, 322, 324, 326–330, 331, 333–337, 340, 342, 356
private chapels 79–80, 82–84
procreation 107, 111, 118, 222n26, 225–226, 228–232, 240
proprius sacerdos 312–313, 321–322, 342, 344
psalmist 44, 57, 51, 55, 67, 145, 169–171, 180–181, 185
pseudo-Dionysius, hierarchical system of 36–39, 41–42, 284
Purgatory 21–22
purity 2, 24, 26, 107, 109–115, 139, 205, 216, 286–287
quaestio 272, 274

Reformation 5, 10, 41–42, 96, 215–216, 248–249, 303
Reform papacy 204
ritual 14, 25, 111,114, 139, 198, 214, 255, 339, 342, 360, 364
  See also liturgy
Rome 4, 35, 49, 66, 68, 74, 106, 109, 113–115, 128, 136–137, 195–198, 218, 233, 336, 347, 352, 362
Roman law 233–234, 243
rotulus consecrationis 61

sacramentaries 44ff., 236, 360
sacramentum 103, 116–117
sacrilege 261
Salisbury, see of 261, 265, 268
salvation 22, 25–26, 41, 88, 102, 104, 131, 174, 177, 204, 209, 214, 248, 252, 273, 279, 293, 295, 310–312, 315, 340
Sanctus 197
School of Laon 165, 175, 179
Scotland 6
schools, grammar and cathedral 2, 18, 252–253, 256–259, 321
sermons 22, 24, 26–27, 141, 182, 219, 276–277, 327, 334–335
sex 90, 103–104, 107, 110, 112, 122–123, 126, 204–205, 207, 214, 216, 225, 228–229, 232, 274–275, 279
sexual ethics 217, 224–225, 228, 232, 244, 274–275, 279
simony 15, 136–139, 204, 286–189, 306
sin 26, 93–95, 98–99, 107, 115–116, 122, 158, 192, 204, 211, 224, 286, 314, 339
  capital 343
  forgiveness of 253, 258, 278–279
  mentally ill persons 232
  mortal 208, 253, 273, 276–277, 279, 341
  original 253
  penance 226, 228–231, 233
  sexual offenses 225–226, 228–232
  venial 209, 253
slander 270
slaves 15, 80, 85, 125, 136, 229, 235, 245
Spain 7, 34, 47, 115, 133–134, 194, 196
spiritual fecundity 217–221, 223–224, 251
“steady man” standard 245

striking 261, 270
stuprum 230, 274n119
Sturminster, parish of 268
subdeacon 19, 44, 47–56, 58–59, 65, 67, 71, 90, 116, 120, 134, 140–187, 277, 352, 371
subdean 261, 267–268, 273
Suburn, parish of 266
summas 256, 260–273, 280
synods 17, 19, 22–23, 32n99, 33, 37, 106, 124, 130, 133, 137, 256–257, 263–265, 272–273, 310, 317, 323, 344, 359, 369
Syria 123, 347

Te Deum 51
Ten Commandments 256, 261–262, 270–271, 273–275, 343
Teversham, parish of 265–266
theology, moral 252–256, 259, 260–273, 277, 280
title, for ordination 13, 16–17
traditio instrumentorum 13, 26, 51, 56, 58, 67, 190–192

unfree, ordination of 14–15
universities 2–3, 252–253, 258–259, 285, 302–303
Usus pauper controversy 294

Vestal Virgins 218
vestments 51–52, 207, 304
viaticum 208–210, 313
vices, capital 258, 261–263, 271, 273–274
  accidie 262
  envy 262, 271
  gluttony 92, 262, 275
  greed 262
  luxuria 262, 274
  pride 92, 262
  wrath 262, 270–271
vigils 270
virgin 2, 44, 110, 116–117, 125, 205–206, 219–223, 274n119
virginity 110, 113, 217–224, 221n21
virtues 255–256, 262, 273, 275, 310, 343
Visigothic Law 239
visitations 18–19, 33, 206, 214
vita apostolica 281
Votive Mass 199–201, 209, 215–216

Waldensians 214–215, 281
Wales 6
water 52, 140, 159, 167, 207–208
widow 15, 44, 98, 102, 108, 116–117, 125, 132, 230, 235, 327, 349, 356, 359
wills 266
wine 24, 52, 119, 124, 167, 176, 183–184, 190–191, 198, 202, 204, 207–208, 211, 214–215, 229, 268, 304, 314, 351, 356
Worcester, see of 259

year, liturgical 55, 276–277, 340
York, province of 254, 259